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The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition



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THE
MISHONGNOVI CEREMONIES
OF THE
SNAKE AND ANTELOPE
FRATERNITIES

BY

GEORGE A. DORSEY,
Curator, Department of Anthropology,

AND

H. R. VOTH.

THE STANLEY McCORMICK HOPI EXPEDITION.



CHICAGO, U. S. A.
June, 1902.

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SNAKE AND ANTELOPE FRATERNITIES

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GEORGE A. DORSEY AND H. R. VOTH.

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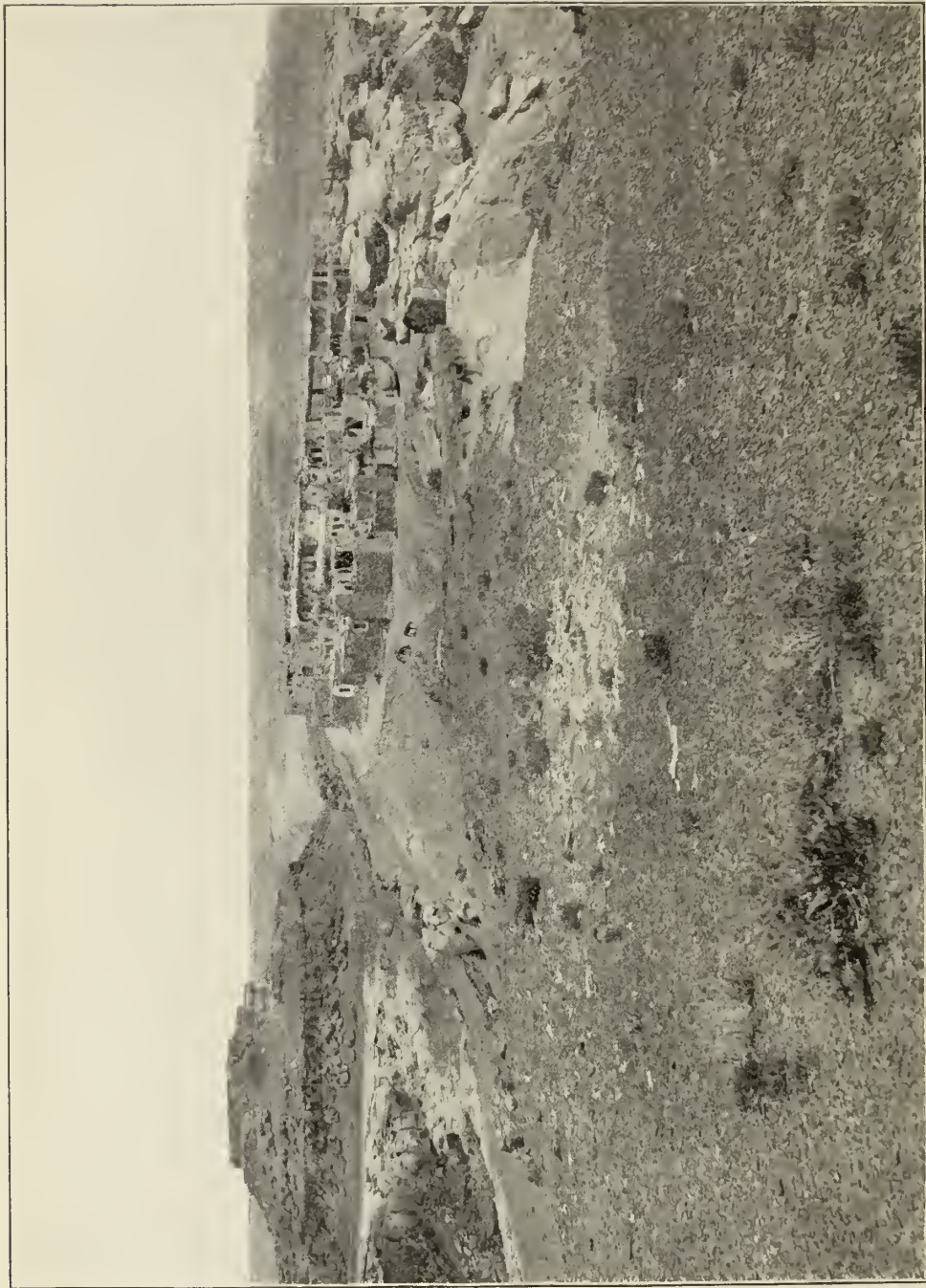
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THE PUEBLO OF MISHONGNOVI.

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PL. LXXV. THE PUEBLO OF MISHONGNOVI.

This photograph was taken from the eastern projection of the Middle Mesa, and includes not only Mishongnovi, but Shipaulovi, which may be seen occupying the summit of the pinnacle on the left.

The gap between the two villages to which reference is made in the following pages may also be clearly distinguished.



TOREVA SPRING.

PL. LXXVI. TOREVA SPRING.

This large spring near the foot of the Middle Mesa is one of the largest and most important in the vicinity, and contains two shrines where offerings are made during the progress of the Antelope-Snake ceremonies.

Occupying the central view is the Government School for the Middle Mesa villages.

The trails to the left of the school buildings lead both to Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi.

PREFACE.

#

The possibility of the preparation of this account of the Mishongnovi Snake and Antelope ceremonies is due in a certain sense to circumstances which seem almost accidental. I left Chicago late in July for the Southwest, for the purpose of making a hasty visit to certain Rio Grande pueblos of New Mexico and then of noting the progress of the excavations which Mr. C. L. Owen, Assistant Curator of this Department, was making in the ancient burial grounds of old Walpi and other Hopi ruins. Incidentally, I had expected to witness the final public performance of the Snake and Antelope Societies at Walpi. On arriving at Tusayan, however, I found that Mr. Owen had removed his camp from Walpi to Toreva (see Pl. LXXXVI), a spring at the foot of the Middle Mesa, near the present pueblo of Mishongnovi (see Pl. LXXV), and was finishing the work of excavating in the burial ground of ancient Mishongnovi which had been begun on the previous season. Hearing, furthermore, that the Snake and Antelope Fraternities of Mishongnovi were to begin their celebration within a few days I decided to remain and witness, if possible, the entire performance. I at once sent an invitation to Mr. H. R. Voth of Oraibi to join me in a study of the ceremonies, which Mr. Voth very kindly accepted. He arrived on the second ceremonial day and remained at Mishongnovi, with the exception of about a day, throughout the remaining eight days. It is perhaps needless to say that without Mr. Voth's coöperation this account would not have been possible.

Although the priests of Mishongnovi are among the most conservative of all Hopi villages, yet, on presenting to the leaders of the two fraternities the object of our desire to witness in full their ceremonies, we were not only given permission to enter the kivas at all times, but were made to feel that we were welcome. Later, when they fully realized that we were watching them constantly and were not only making notes of our observations but were photographing as well, they not only did not offer any objections, but in many ways assisted us, declaring that they wished us to have the truth and the whole truth about their performances. This friendly attitude, which gradually extended to the entire priesthood of both orders, made our work extremely agreeable, and the constant attendance upon the cere-

monies necessary for detailed study, which ordinarily would become very arduous, came to be a genuine pleasure. Often were we invited to partake of their *piki* bread and other food, and many were the requests that we join them in the circle about the hearth as they were engaged in ceremonial smoking, which request was occasionally accepted by the senior author. In fact, I believe that no Hopi ceremony was ever witnessed under more favorable circumstances, and to Polihungwa (see Pl. LXXVII), Chief of the Antelope priests, to Lomañakshu (see Pl. LXXVIII), Chief of the Snake priests, and to all priests of both Societies, we owe our sincerest thanks, and we shall always hold them in grateful memory.

I was accompanied throughout the ceremony by Mr. Charles H. Carpenter, the Museum photographer, and by Mr. S. W. Matteson of Denver. Both these gentlemen had full access to the kivas at all times, and their careful and conscientious work is amply revealed in the admirable illustrations which accompany this paper. For this work, and for their assistance in many other ways, freely given at all times of the day or night, we are very greatly indebted. Grateful acknowledgment must also be made of the many services rendered by Mr. Owen. Indeed, without the aid of these three gentlemen, many of the observations contained within could not have been made.

It is a great pleasure to speak of the many kindnesses and never failing courtesy, extended over two years, of Mr. Charles A. Burton, the Acting Agent in charge of the Hopi.

To Mr. Stanley McCormick, through whose generous liberality the Department has been able to carry on uninterruptedly for three years anthropological investigations among the Hopi, are due the profound thanks of the Museum, of myself personally, and of all students of the primitive peoples of America.

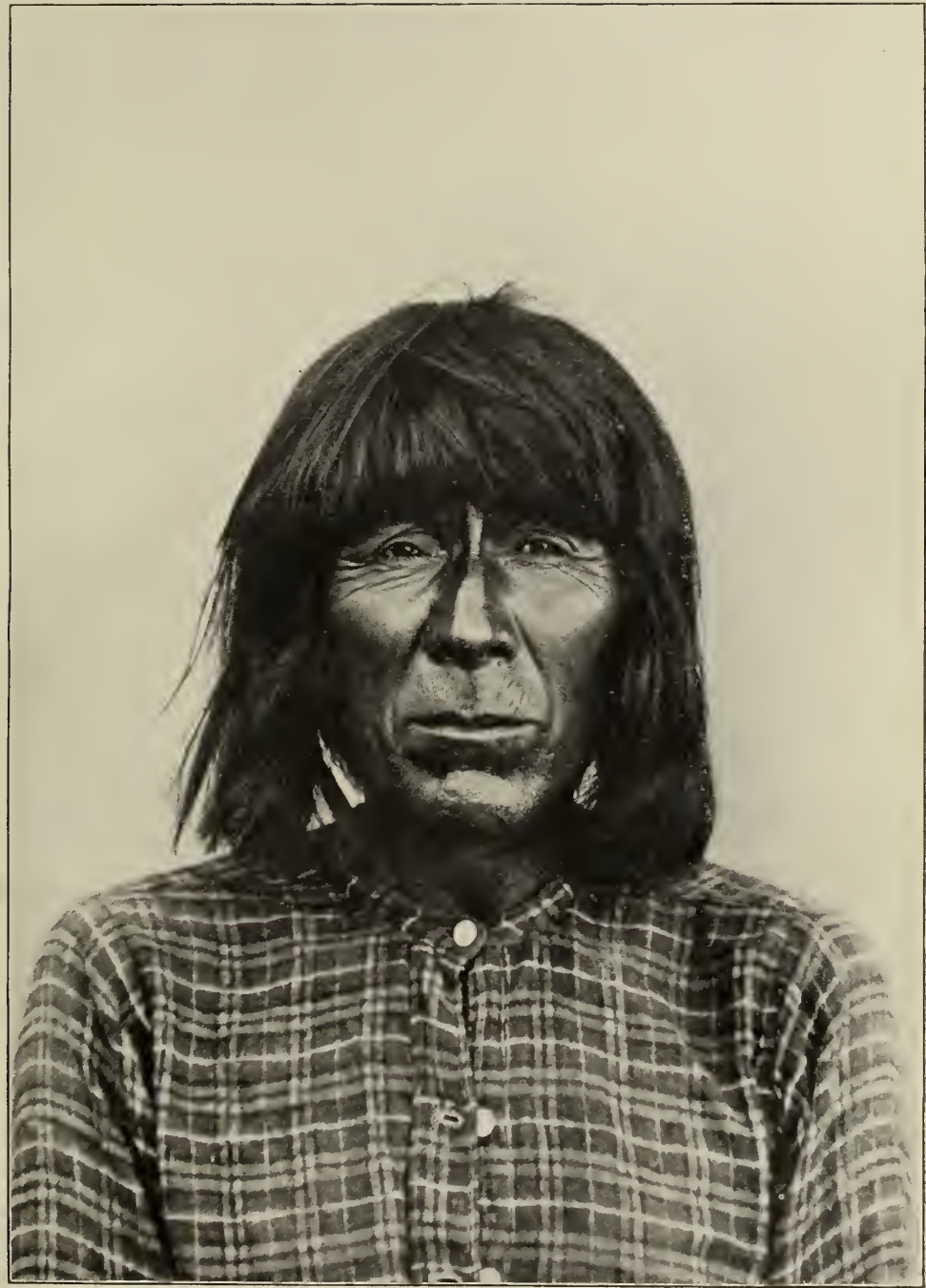
GEORGE A. DORSEY,

Curator, Department of Anthropology.

CHICAGO, June 1, 1902.

PL. LXXVII.

Polihungwa, Chief of the Antelope Fraternity.



POLIHUNGWA, CHIEF OF THE ANTELOPE FRATERNITY.

PL. LXXVIII.

Lománakshu, Chief of the Snake Fraternity.



LOMANAKSHU, CHIEF OF THE SNAKE FRATERNITY.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF HOPI SNAKE CEREMONIES.

Neither time nor inclination has been present for the preparation of an exhaustive list of the books and articles on Hopi Snake ceremonies. The object here is merely to give the titles and a brief characterization of the most important writings which have been prepared by scientists who have written after careful and more or less extended observation.

1. 1884. BOURKE, JOHN G. THE SNAKE DANCE OF THE MOQUIS OF ARIZONA. Being a narrative of a journey from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the villages of the Moquis of Arizona, with a description of the Manners and Customs of this peculiar people, and especially of the revolting religious rite, the Snake Dance. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. London: S. Low. Pp. 371.

This graphic and entertaining account of Captain Bourke's visit to the Hopi will always retain great value, as it was the first comprehensive account of the Tusayan Pueblos to appear in print. Captain Bourke was a close observer and was received with favor by the Hopi, gaining admission to both the Antelope and Snake kivas. He witnessed the ceremonies of the eighth and ninth days at Walpi and has left a vivid although incomplete account of his observations. Among the many illustrations which accompany his work are drawings of both the Snake and Antelope sand pictures, as well as colored drawings of dancers, ceremonial paraphernalia, etc.

2. 1886. MINDELEFF, COSMOS. AN INDIAN DANCE. *Science*, Vol. VII, No. 174. Pp. 507-514.

This is a brief but interesting account of the ceremonies at the pueblo of Mishongnovi. During the year 1885 there was no attempt on the part of the author to witness the proceedings of the entire ceremony, and so the description is largely confined to the public performance, although there are observations on earlier incidents of the ceremony which are of great value. The paper contains three pen drawings, one illustrating certain pieces of paraphernalia, the other a kiva, while the third is of the Snake dance plaza. Inasmuch as Mr. Mindeleff's article describes portions of the Mishongnovi ceremony of

fifteen years ago, it will be of great interest to compare that performance with the one of the present year.

3. 1894. FEWKES, J. WALTER, assisted by A. M. STEPHENS and J. G. OWENS. THE SNAKE CEREMONIALS AT WALPI. *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, Vol. IV. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Pp. 126.

This is preëminently the work of a scientific observer and must always remain the standard account of the Walpi ceremonies. Dr. Fewkes' account is based on the performances of 1891 and 1893. He was present during the entire nine days on both years, had the complete confidence of the priests, and had the aid of trained and faithful assistants, so essential for the complete observance of two ceremonies performed simultaneously. The work shows untiring labor in the observation of the ceremonies and great care in the description. Not the least valuable portion of the account is the Snake legend by Stephens and its interpretation, together with an inquiry into the origin and meaning of the entire ceremony by Dr. Fewkes.

4. 1897. FEWKES, JESSIE WALTER. TUSAYAN SNAKE CEREMONIES. Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Washington. Pp. 267-312.

This extremely valuable paper of Dr. Fewkes' is the result of extended studies made during the summer of 1896, and contains more or less complete descriptions of the important events of the ceremonies of Shipaulovi, Shongopavi and Oraibi, together with twelve full-page illustrations, among which are drawings of the Antelope altars of the three villages just mentioned. At the close of the paper is a bibliography of twenty-five titles, being those which had appeared since the date of the appearance of Dr. Fewkes' paper on the Walpi Dance of 1894.

THE VILLAGE OF MISHONGNOVI.

There are seven Hopi villages: Walpi, Sichomovi and Hano on the First or East Mesa; Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi and Shongopavi on the Second or Middle Mesa; and Oraibi on the Third or West Mesa. These mesas lie almost parallel to each other, and are separated by valleys which average six miles in width. The distance of any one of the villages from the main line of the Santa Fé Railroad is about sixty-five miles. After Oraibi, Mishongnovi is the largest Hopi village, having, according to the census of 1900, 350 inhabitants. The position of the village is most picturesque, as it is on the summit of a long slender finger which extends out into the plain towards the southeast from the broad and irregular Middle Mesa. On the east from the village the mesa extends to a slight distance, its very point being occupied with two shrines, one being the Sun Shrine, the other the Katsina Shrine. On the western side of the village the mesa terminates rather abruptly, having a level interval of about two hundred yards lying about fifty feet below Mishongnovi. Beyond this the mesa regains its former level, and its pinnacle-like summit is crowned here by Shipaulovi, the smallest of the Hopi pueblos. Near the north and south sides of the village are rather steep declivities which lead to the narrow terrace which has already been mentioned. The walls of this terrace are decidedly abrupt on three sides and lead down to the valleys below, about four hundred feet.

Mishongnovi as it stands to-day is, according to the researches of Mindeleff,* of long and slow growth, the oldest portion, on the east side, surrounding a fairly regular court, containing a kiva. To this have been made two other additions, surrounding long and somewhat irregular courts which open on the south. The north side of the village is thus formed by the comparatively regular high wall of the rear sides of houses of three stories, and not as a rule pierced by openings. In front of this house row there are the three courts, surrounded by the first terrace of the houses, which rise up generally to a height of three stories. The center court is long, narrow and almost rectangular. Near the center and a little towards the east side of this

*"A Study of Pueblo Architecture," by Victor Mindeleff. Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1866-1867, p. 66.

court is the Bahoki* and the shrine of Tiwónñappavi.† The first (see Pl. LXXIX) is a small rectangular structure about two feet high, made of courses of stone and open at the upper eastern side. Its summit is occupied by a flat sandstone slab. In this court are enacted the public performances of the Snake and Antelope priests on the eighth and ninth days, when this shrine plays a small part in the rites.

Mishongnovi has the appearance of being old, and a careful examination of the interior of the houses, up to a few years ago, would not have revealed much that is of white origin. In fact the people of this village, as a whole, are probably more conservative than those of any other Hopi pueblo, unless Shongopavi be excepted. This fact adds considerable interest to the character of the inhabitants, for when a conservative Indian manifests friendship it may be depended upon that the desire for personal gain has, as a rule, not been his sole incentive.

THE KIVAS USED BY THE SNAKE AND ANTELOPE FRATERNITIES.

The two kivas or underground chambers occupied by the Snake and Antelope Fraternities for their secret mysteries were, respectively, those of the Wowochim (Adult's) and Ahl (Horn) Societies; henceforth in this paper they will be called the Snake and Antelope kivas. Both lie outside the limits of the village on the southeast side, occupying a position just as the mesa begins to slope down toward the first terrace (see Pl. LXXX, a). As a consequence of their position the outer walls and a portion of the end walls of both kivas are almost entirely exposed, being built up from the sloping side of the hill. The lower portion of both outer walls is now, however, partially covered by refuse, as this side of the village is a favorite dumping ground for the refuse of the streets. The exposed walls are roughly built, the lower half being of a double course of undressed stones with the remainder of the wall of a single course. At no place in any of the exposed walls is there evidence of careful masonry or plaster. The two kivas are separated from each other by an interval of a few feet, this being occupied by one of the trails. The fact that the orientation of Hopi kivas is largely a matter of convenience is well illustrated by the position of these two—that of the Snake kiva

*The Bahoki is said to be owned by the Batki Nñamu (Waterhouse Clan), represented in this ceremony principally by Sikanakpu. But others also deposit prayer offerings in this shrine.

†This shrine is controlled by the Katsina Nñamu (Katsina Clan). The Katsina chief of Mishongnovi is at present Lomashihkuiwa, who also participated in the ceremony.

PL. LXXIX. SHRINE OF BUHOKI.

This little structure occupies a prominent position in the large plaza of Mishongnovi, and is owned by the *Batkiñamu* (Water House Clan), which is represented in the Antelope-Snake ceremony by Sikanakpu. Other clans have deposited prayer offerings in the shrine.

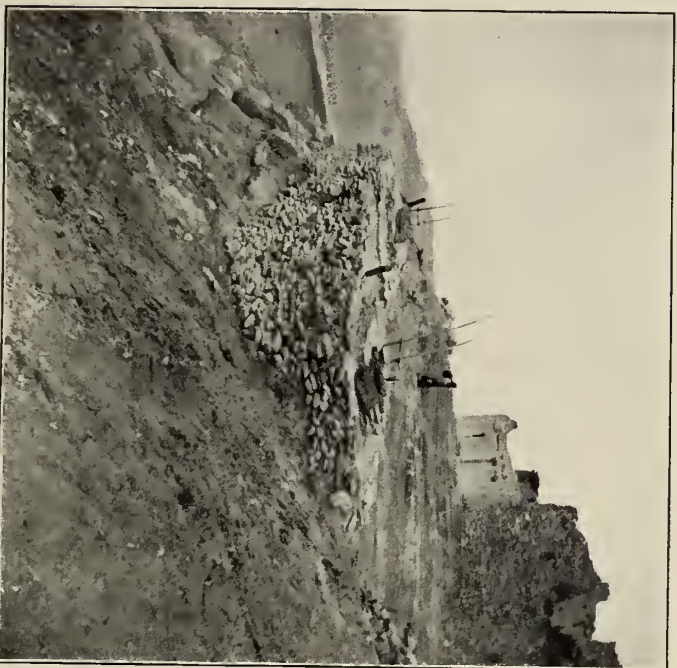


SHRINE OF BUHOI.

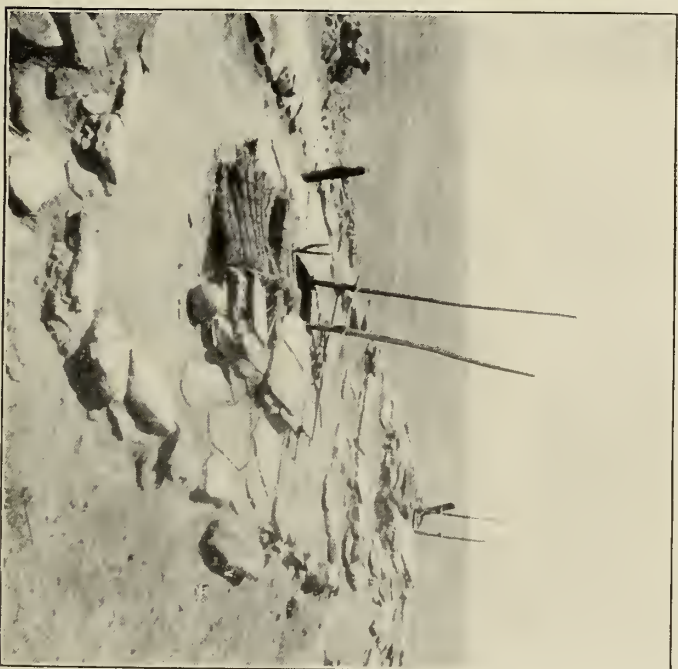
PL. LXXX. ANTELOPE-SNAKE KIVAS.

a. This view shows the eastern or retaining wall of the two kivas, built up from the side of the mesa.

b. In the foreground the Antelope kiva, showing the Snake *natsi* in position in the mat of the kiva hatchway.



a



b



THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

PL. LXXXI. THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

The view is taken from the north end of the kiva looking to the south toward the raised or spectators' platform in the kiva.

The absence of a banquette will be noticed in the main floor of the kiva.

The fireplace may be seen in the center of the floor just under the hatchway of the kiva.

having its long diameter to the southeast, while that of the Antelope kiva is west of south. There is a still greater discrepancy in the orientation of these two kivas, as the Snake kiva faces southeast, while the Antelope kiva faces the southwest. Inasmuch, however, as the Hopi south is rather southeast, it would be proper to say that the Snake kiva faces nearly east and that the Antelope kiva faces nearly west: these and their related terms will consequently be used in any reference which may be made to direction when speaking of either kiva.

The exterior of the roof (see Pl. LXXX, *b*) of both kivas is approximately the same, each having a hatchway near the center about eight feet square and about sixteen inches at its highest part, sloping gently to a height of eight inches at the opposite side. The hatches are of thin slabs of sandstone, the interspaces being filled with plaster. The limits of both kivas are indicated by means of stones—a single course of the Antelope kiva and an irregular course for the Snake kiva, varying from two to four stones in height. There are many points of difference in the interiors of the two kivas. The main floor of the Snake kiva where rites are performed consists of thirteen hewn planks fourteen inches wide. At the south end this is surmounted by a banquette of stone a foot and a half high. Opposite this and in the center of the kiva is the sunken fire hearth, rectangular in shape and surrounded by a single course of flat stones. At the north end is the raised platform, the spectators' position of the kiva. This is of large, irregularly squared, rough hewn stones. Here the non-active members sit and lounge or work during ceremonial days, and here the members eat on those days when fasting is not prescribed. The walls of the kiva are coated with reddish yellow clay, which in the northeast corner had become detached and exposed the blackened courses of stone which were much evenner and more regular than those exposed on the outside. About half way on the east, south and west walls are, respectively, one, two and three deep rectangular recesses about ten inches in width. These serve as receptacles for various small objects, such as moccasins, paints, cotton, feather boxes, etc.

Both the main floor and the platform of the Antelope kiva is of stone (see Pl. LXXXI). The banquette extends along the entire northern end, and on the west side for a distance of three feet. It is about sixteen inches in height and is plastered. This kiva has a single recess in the west, north and east walls. There is no mural decoration in either kiva, but in the Antelope kiva each of the seven rafters have on the under surface four sets of four broad parallel white lines; the rafter on the north end has an additional set of lines.

TIME AND DURATION OF THE CEREMONY.

The ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities are celebrated simultaneously every other year in five of the Hopi villages, viz.: Walpi, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, Shongopavi and Oraibi. The celebrations at Walpi and Mishongnovi occur during odd years, while those of the other three villages occur in even years. Thus during 1901 the ceremonies were performed at Walpi and Mishongnovi. This year they will be given at Shipaulovi, Shongopavi and Oraibi.

An examination of all available dates of the Snake-Antelope performances reveals several points of interest. First, it may be noted that without exception the entire nine days fall within our month of August and that the maximum variation for the five villages during performances extending over a period of ten years is ten days, the earliest day being that for the Walpi performance in 1893, August 14, while the latest day is August 24, 1894, at (Shongopavi and) Walpi and 1901 at Walpi. It may also be noted that the days of the celebration never coincide for any of the villages in the same year. The reason for this is not apparent, inasmuch as, so far as is known, there is no coöperation between the priests of one village and those of another. Indeed, it is not known that the Snake priests, for example, ever visit the Snake kiva of another village during their performance.

What determines the exact date of the beginning of the ceremony has never yet been satisfactorily explained. The principal thing seems to be the condition of the crops. Much questioning this year at Mishongnovi did not throw much light on the subject. Our informant, Shakhungwa, the village Ceremonial Crier, and others, insisted that the Mishongnovi performance ordinarily was announced on the fourth day following the last day of the Niman or farewell ceremony at Shipaulovi,* although what relation this ceremony bears to that of the Snakes and Antelopes was not ascertained, perhaps none. The Shipaulovi Niman ceremony terminated this year on the 3rd of August, hence, according to our informants, the announcement of the Mishongnovi performances should have taken place on August 7th, whereas, as a matter of fact, it was on the 5th. This discrepancy was explained by our informant declaring that on the ninth day of the Shipaulovi Niman ceremony, the priests of the Mishongnovi Antelope

*This village always celebrates its Farewell Katsina ceremony last and no Snake ceremony ever takes place before this event, which concludes the Katsina season, has occurred.

Fraternity remarked to the Snake priest, "To-morrow we will make bahos." This premature beginning of the ceremony was due to the great drouth which had long prevailed, and as consequently the melons and corn were drying up, it was decided to begin the great rain ceremonies at once, and so the preliminary ceremony of baho making (*Ba-ho-la-wu*) was performed on the following night, August 4th.*

The dates of the days of the ceremonies with their names are as follows:

- August 3. Ninth day (Shipaulovi Niman.)
- August 4. Ba-hó-la-wu (baho making).
- August 5. Ting-ápngvu or Cha-á-la-ang-wu (announcement).
- August 6. Shúsh-ta-la (first day).
- August 7. Lösh-ta-la (second day).
- August 8. Ba-yísh-ta-la (third day).
- August 9. Na-lösh-ta-la (fourth day).
- August 10. Shúsh-ta-la (first day).
- August 11. Lösh-ta-la (second day).
- August 12. Ba-yísh-ta-la (third day).
- August 13. Na-lösh-ta-la (fourth day), yungya (going in).
- August 14. Shúsh-ta-la (first day).
- August 15. Lösh-ta-la (second day).
- August 16. Ba-yísh-ta-la (third day).
- August 17. Na-lösh-ta-la (fourth day).
- August 18. Shush-ka-hi-mu (once not anything).
- August 19. Ko-mok-to-tak-ya (wood providing day).
- August 20. To-tók-ya (food providing day).
- August 21. Tik-i-ve (dancing day), or Pikamnovi (pikami eating).
- August 22. O-vék-ni-va (jollification day).
- August 23. Lösh-ta-la (second day).
- August 24. Ba-yísh-ta-la (third day).
- August 25. Na-lösh-ta-la (fourth day).

The occurrence of groups of four days in this list is very striking. Thus there are two groups of four days each before the yungya or assembly day, then two groups of four days of ceremony, and finally four days following the public performance, which are devoted to merry making, chiefly among the younger people. Nor should the

*On one occasion the Oraih Snake priest procrastinated too long with the beginning of the Snake ceremony, as the inhabitants thought. It was very dry and the watermelons, melons, etc., had matured very slowly, which the Snake priest gave as a reason for his delaying. Considerable uneasiness and dissatisfaction was manifested in the village and pressure was brought to bear on the Snake priest to hasten his ceremony. The people said their crop was drying up and they wanted rain.

four days which are supposed to intervene between Ting-apngvu and the last day of the Niman be overlooked. The ceremonies may thus be said to extend over a period of twenty-four days, or six groups of four days each.

BAHOLAWU (BAHO MAKING), AUGUST 4.

This preliminary ceremony of Baho making took place on August 4th, the day following the ninth day of the Shipaulovi Niman ceremony and eight days before the beginning or *yungya* of the Snake and Antelope ceremonies proper. The irregularity in time has already been noted with the reason. The observance of the ceremony was not possible but from various priests including Lomanakshu and Polihungwa the following information was obtained: Towards evening of that day each of the two leading priests* made four nakwakwosis which were stained red and one *pūhu* (road).† These they took in the evening to the house of Shakhungwa whose duty it is to announce all religious ceremonies. Here they consecrated these prayer offerings by smoking over them and sprinkling corn meal on them. This consecration of the bahos, according to Homiwushyoma, was a prayer to the yellow clouds of the north, the blue clouds of the west, the red clouds of the south and the white clouds of the east to come quickly and bring rain so that "we may have corn for our children; and when they have had enough, that we may have corn for ourselves; and that the men who are to hunt snakes for use in the ceremony may be brave and strong."

The crier also participates in this consecration ceremony, and he was on this occasion instructed to announce on the next morning the oncoming ceremony. The prayer offerings are lying on a tray with some corn meal and remain in his house for use on the next morning. After the short ceremony the two priests return to their respective homes.

PARTICIPANTS.

In the following two lists are given the names and clan relationship of those who participated in the Mishongnovi ceremonies of 1901:

SNAKE FRATERNITY, OR TCŪA-WIWIMKYAMU.

1. Lo-man'-ak-shu, chief priest, *Tcūa* (Snake) clan.
2. Na-kwa'-yesh-wa, *Tcūa* (Snake) clan.
3. Ho-pō'-onga, *Tcua* (Snake) clan.

*Shakhungwa insists that he also made some prayer offerings, but Nakshu and Polihungwa insist that he did not.

†This leather offering is also called *pūhtari* (road leaver or road marker), but this name seems to be more applied after it has been deposited, to *mark out* and to *represent* a road.

4. Qö'tch-bu-ya-o-ma, *Ishawu* (Coyote) clan.
5. Ho-mi'-wush-yo-ma, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
6. Chosh-nim'-ti-wa, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
7. Lo-ma'-kui-wa, *Piqösha* and *Choro* (Head-burden band and Bluebird) clan.
8. U'-yi-i-ma, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
9. To-ben-yak'-i-o-ma, *Pihkash* (Young Corn Ear) clan.
10. A-to'-ko, *Pihkash* (Young Corn Ear) clan.
11. Ho-mi'-si-i-ma, *Karro* (Parrot) clan.
12. Kwa'-wi-o-ma, *Karro* (Parrot) clan.
13. Na-kwa'-hung-wa, *Batki* (Water House) clan.
14. Yü'-shi-i-ma, *Tawa* (Sun) clan.
15. Si-kán-ñak-yo-ma, *Piqösha* (Head-burden band) clan.
16. So-són-ki-wa, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
17. Na-kwa'-ven-ti-wa, *Piqösha* (Head-burden band) clan.
18. Ri-ya-o-ma, *Katcina* (Katcina) clan.
19. Ho-mi'-yam-ti-wa, *Kahl* (Forehead) clan.
20. Ki-wan'-yosh-i-a, *Honani* (Badger) clan.

ANTELOPE FRATERNITY, OR TCÖB-WIWIMKYAMU.

1. Pol-i'-hung-wa, chief priest, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
2. Shák-vent-i-wa, assistant priest, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
3. Lā-tā'-ya, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
4. Si-ka'-ya-o-ma, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
5. Shít-ko, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
6. Tal-a'-wih-pi-ma, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
7. Ba'-ta-la *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
8. Qö-ma'-lets-ti-wa, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan.
9. Qö-ma'-ho-i-ni-wa, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
10. Ho-nan'-shu-ru, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
11. Nap'-hoi-ni-wa, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
12. Hon'-shu-ru, *Kwahu* (Eagle) clan.
13. Shak'-hung-wa, *Kokop* (Wood) and *Tövu* (Fire) clans.
14. Ta-wa'-hung-wa, *Si-kah-ta-ya* (Yellow Fox) clan.
15. Si'-kang-pu, *Pihkash* (Young Corn Ear) clan.
16. Lo-ma'-wung-yai, *Pihkash* (Young Corn Ear) clan.
17. Lo-ma'-shih-kui-wa, *Ang-wush-a* (Crow), *Katcina* (Katcin) and *Cooyoko* (Cooyoko) clans.
18. Na-murz'-ti-wa, *Batki* (Water House) and *Omaruu* (Cloud) clans.
19. Si-ka'-nak-pu, *Batki* (Water House) and *Omaruu* (Cloud) clans.

20. Nū'-wa-wa, *Batang-a* (Squash) clan.
21. Kashnimka, *Honawuu* (Bear) clan, Antelope *mana*.
22. Talamösi, *Karro* (Parrot) clan.

TINGAPNGVU (ANNOUNCEMENT), AUGUST 5.

On this morning Shakhungwa, who is the Chaákmongwi or Crier Chief,* at sunrise ascended the roof of the ancestral home of the Kohkang ñamu (Spider clan) and made the formal announcement of the approaching ceremony after having sprinkled cornmeal to the rising sun. His speech was in substance as follows:

Shuhkop talaat ahpi^k ima Tcötcöpt, Tcütçüt kukinaniwani yungni. Pai oomawhtu nananiwok kukniwak puu ang pāo itamui hoyoyoikni puu itah kihut omi ökini puu ang pāo yoyoknayani. Puu üyi, kawai üyi, melon üyi, mori üyi, hatik üyi, tawiya, pöcövi, puu sipala pam anihtini. Puu chachayom angnönöshani, puu ööyani. Puu tüwat itam wüwüyukamu, yumatu, namatu, mamantu ang tuwat nönöshani puu ööyayee. Pam ang tukvsini puu kiam ooyani. Puu ahpi put nitkaikähkango nonowakahkang yeshni. Puu momoyam, mamantu pumua shuan notkolalawani. Puu itam angwühaktini. Puu wuwuyiwishni, wuh-taktini, wuhtihaskitini. Owi itam yan hakam tonátyaokähkango, háhlaikähkango, pasa talaat aohoyoyoikani. Pai yanni.

A free rendering of this is as follows:

Sixteen days and then these Antelopes and Snakes will arise and assemble. Then you clouds from the different world quarters arise and come drawing this way. Having come over our houses come and rain (on us). Then the corn, watermelon plants, melon plants, bean plants, ——— plants, gourd plants, the wheat and the peaches will thrive. Then the children will eat and be filled. And then we too, the older ones, the mothers, the fathers, the maidens will eat and be filled. And then when that (the crop) is matured we shall put it into the houses; after which we shall make food of it and live of it. And the women and maidens shall be fruitful and we shall increase. We shall live long, become old men and old women.

Yes, thus we are watching, waiting, are happy drawing near that number of days. Yes, thus be it.†

After having concluded this speech the crier takes the tray with the prayer offerings, descends the mesa on the west side and goes to

*Shakhungwa inherited his position of religious Crier Chief from his uncle, *i. e.*, his mother's brother, on his death, inasmuch as his own brother had died a few years ago.

†The crier is a comparatively young man, and when he dictated this speech he said that, as the announcements for other ceremonies were in many respects very similar, he sometimes got somewhat confused and frankly admitted that he was not sure whether he had it exactly the way his predecessors had had it.



SHRINE AT TOREVA.

PL. LXXXII. SHRINE AT TOREVA.

At the foot of a large rock which extends on the north side of the spring and projects above the water, may be seen remnants of prayer-offerings deposited at the time of the baho-making ceremony, preliminary to, and eight days before the opening of the Antelope-Snake ceremonies.



a



b

INTERIOR OF THE SNAKE KIVA.

PL. LXXXIII. INTERIOR OF THE SNAKE KIVA.

a. The masks and other objects used in previous ceremonies have not yet been removed from the kiva.

Occupying a place on the floor of the kiva are the bags containing snake whips and other objects of paraphernalia to be used during the ceremonies.

b. A wooden box and earthenware vessel for the reception of the snakes captured during the early days of the snake hunts.

the large spring, Toriva, where he places the red nakwakwosis, which are fastened to two short sticks, under a rock on the north side of the spring, sprinkling some meal on them (see Pl. LXXXII). He then sprinkles a meal line from this place to and up the entrance of the spring and for a distance along the trail that he came. On this trail he then places, a short distance apart, the two *pühüs* (roads or road markers), whereupon he returns to the village.

Nothing more is done after this pertaining to the ceremony until the first ceremonial day, which is eight days later.

FIRST DAY (YUNGVA, ASSEMBLY DAY), AUGUST 13.

At daybreak on the morning of this day Lomanakshu and Polihungwa, chief priests respectively of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities, placed upright in the straw matting of the kiva hatchway their *natsis* (see Pl. LXXX, *b*). These consist really of a *teü wüwahpi* (snake whip), which is formed of a shaft of wood about nine inches long, painted red, and to which are fastened two long eagle tail-feathers by means of many wrappings of a buckskin thong. At the ends of the eagle feathers are attached by means of a cotton string, about three inches in length, an eagle breath feather. The *natsis* were apparently alike in every detail. At the same time that the Snake priest brought his *natsi* to the kiva he also carried an old flour sack containing snake whips which he deposited back of the fireplace on the kiva floor just over the *sipapu* (see Pl. LXXXIII). The whips were removed from the sack and placed on top of it, when the priest sprinkled them with sacred meal from a *Havasupai* plaque which he had brought in with him, and which he now placed on the floor in front of the whips. Several ordinary tobacco pipes of native make had also been brought in and were placed near the fireplace together with a cotton bag of native tobacco. Those in the kiva then left for their fields and throughout the day the Snake kiva was deserted until seven o'clock in the evening, when Lomanakshu returned, removed his moccasins, shirt and trousers and seated himself by the fireplace and indulged in silent smoking. All remained in the kiva during the night.

The Antelope priest had also brought with him early on this morning from his house, in addition to his *natsi*, two Antelope *tiponies* in an old flour sack and an extra *natsi* or snake whip. He also brought pipes and a sack of native tobacco. After having placed in position the *natsi* he entered the kiva and removed the *tiponies* from the sack and placed them upon the banquette, their wide base turned toward the wall of the kiva; the reserve *natsi* or snake whip he placed

by their side. From an old Oraibi tray which he also brought he took a pinch of meal and sprinkled over the *tiponies* four times, uttering a silent prayer. The tray was then placed by the side and to the left of the *tiponies*. He then indulged in a silent ceremonial smoke for a period of several minutes, whereupon he left the kiva for his field. The kiva was practically deserted throughout the day until his return in the evening, when he was visited by the Snake priest and with him engaged in fraternal smoking. The Antelope priest remained in the kiva this night alone.

During the afternoon, clay which had been brought by Qötcwaisi (the mother of Lomanakshu) was taken into each of the kivas and the holes and crevices were stopped up by Qötcwaisi in the Snake kiva. Special pains were taken to plaster over every crevice and chink, in order that should one of the snakes escape from the bags or receptacles it could the more readily be found, a precaution which proved to be of practical value when later on several reptiles did escape from the buckskin bags.

SECOND DAY (SHUSHTALA, FIRST DAY), AUGUST 14.

On inquiry it was learned that the two *natsis* had not been removed during the night and were in their position consequently when the kivas were visited at half-past six o'clock on this morning, where they are left after this day and night. At this time the kivas were entirely deserted and it was later ascertained that the chief priests were in their fields. A pile of firewood was noticed outside of the Antelope kiva. About an hour later Sikanakpu entered the Antelope kiva and smoked. Presently four boys approached with bowls of food, consisting of green-corn stew, *comiwiki*, etc., remaining outside at the hatch leading into the kiva, when Sikanakpu came up and received the food from them, whereupon the boys followed him into the kiva and sitting on sheepskins they made their morning meal sitting on the west side of the banquette. During the meal the old man talked to the boys, who seemed to enjoy the meal not a little. It was noticed that the heads of the boys had just been washed in yucca suds, and it was also noticed on walking through the village that there were many freshly-washed heads on this morning. The same thing was noticed on the previous morning.

At about half-past eight o'clock Lomanakshu entered the Snake kiva alone, bringing with him native bread and a pail of water. Sitting upon the platform he began eating, when, shortly after, Nakwayeshwa and Choshnimtiwa entered, also bringing with them food.



b

CONSECRATION OF BAHOS.



a

PL. LXXXIV. CONSECRATION OF BAHOS.

a. Polihungwa consecrating the bahos before they are delivered to Lománakshu.

b. Polihungwa addressing Lománakshu at the time of the delivery of the bahos.

After all had partaken of breakfast they removed their clothing, and seating themselves in a circle about the fireplace they engaged in silent ceremonial smoking.

After the boys in the Antelope kiva had finished their breakfast they were addressed by old Homiyamtiwa, whereupon they left the kiva and did not return until the time for the noonday meal, when they again brought food and ate as before, the same performance being repeated at night, by which time they were joined by additional comrades.

At about ten o'clock Lomanakshu left the kiva and soon returned with his plume box. He seated himself on the west side of the floor of the kiva, disrobed and let down his hair. Opening the plume box he began making nakwakwosis. These consisted of a short cotton string about three inches long with a breath feather attached. After he had made four the plume box was wrapped up and suspended from a peg on the wall. He then opened a sack of red paint (*cutú*) and stained the nakwakwosis, including the feathers, red, whereupon he spat into his hands and by rubbing, removed the red paint from his hands upon his face and arms. He then placed the nakwakwosis on the meal tray with the feathers hanging over the sides of the tray lying just in front of the snake whips, which he then carried up by the side of the fireplace. Filling a pipe with native tobacco and lighting it he took the tray in his left hand and smoked into it and over the nakwakwosis four times. He placed the tray on the floor near the fireplace and finished smoking. Hereupon Choshnimtiwa left the kiva and soon returned with some yucca leaves and a bunch of cedar bark. He shredded the cedar bark and gathered together a long roll of it, about twenty inches in length and about one inch in diameter, which he wrapped with one of the yucca leaves and placed it near the fireplace. Lomanakshu then handed a nakwakwosi to each one of the three men present who responded "*kwakwai*" (thanks) and tied the nakwakwosi in their hair.*

Lomanakshu then left the Snake kiva and entered the Antelope kiva, where Polihungwa had been making the same number of nakwakwosis, and one uncolored *pūhū*. The two chief priests sat down side by side (see Pl. LXXXIV) near the fireplace, Polihungwa lighting a pipe and after a few puffs handing it to Lomanakshu, both then smoking silently and exchanging occasional terms of relationship. After this had continued for some time Polihungwa addressed Lomanakshu at some length and gave the four nakwakwosis to him,

*This feather is called *nakwauita* (from *nawakna*, wish, want, desire, pray) and is worn by every participant of any kiva ceremony. It usually consists of a single small eagle feather, although there are exceptions, as in the case of the Mauzrantu, who used two sparrow-hawk feathers.

who placed it in the corner of his blanket. Polihungwa then took a handful of meal and gave it to Lomanakshu, who placed it also in the corner of his blanket and then addressed Polihungwa in a lengthy speech.

Polihungwa said to Lomanakshu in substance this:

Puu úma hahlaikahka öökáoahka angnánkwushani. Pai hákam shúkham teūat úmi námataktaqö, púu úma áonánawaknaqöe. Púu itam hikvsiat pichangata akv itam yép hakam pai ókiwa móngwactotini. Shuwúyokwaqö yan itah natwanga angbálaiyu aknaánkwushaqöe akangnihtiqöe, itáhtim. Pai uma yan hakam tonátyaokahkanga pai háhlaikahkango angnankwashani.

A free rendering of which is as follows:

Now, you go and start joyfully and bravely (firmly). And if you find a rattlesnake anywhere, pray to it.

And we poor ones shall thus bring this to a (happy) conclusion (referring to the ceremony). May it be raining profusely soon! The rain water will run through our crops, they will thrive and our children shall thrive.* Yes, thus caring for this (letting this be your purpose), go you joyfully forth.

Lomanakshu replies with essentially the same speech (only using the first person instead of the second) and adds:

Pai uma hahlaikahkango shookaóahkango yapik itamui nuhtaitani.

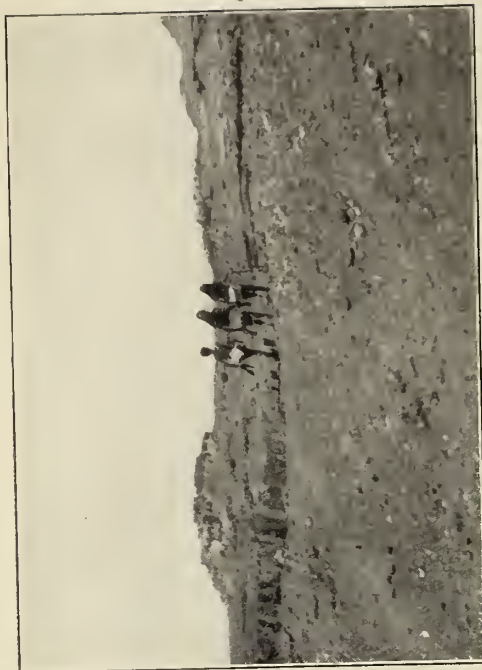
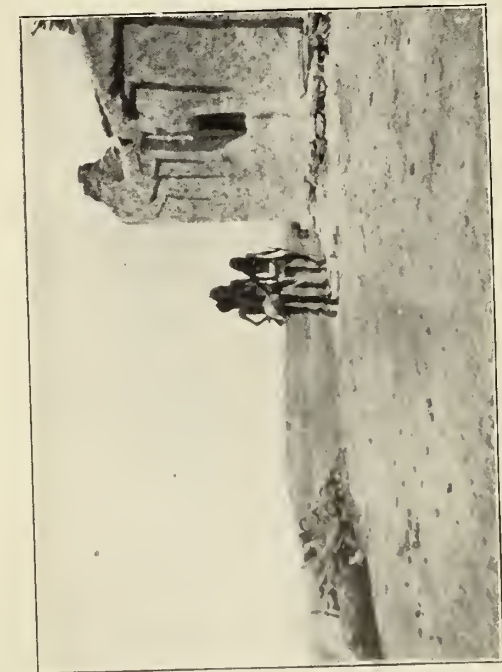
[Yes, you wait for us here joyfully and quietly.]

The nakwakwosis are taken by Lomanakshu on the snake hunt and deposited by him at springs or shrines that he meets.

Rising, he takes from the fold of his blanket a pinch of meal, sprinkles it four times on the *tiponies* and returns to his own kiva, where he places the nakwakwosis and meal in a bowl and then sprinkles meal over it and sits down near the fireplace, where he remains silent for several minutes. He then lights the cedar bark fuse (*kopichoki*), which had been prepared by Choshnimtiwa, with which he lights a pipe, smokes into the tray four times, hands the pipe to the Qötchbuyaoma, who in turn passes it to the other men, all smoking for a short interval and exchanging terms of relationship, and makes a long formal speech to old Homiwushyoma, who constantly answers "*Anchaa*," (all right, or amen). Homiwushyoma then addresses Lomanakshu, the response being made as before by Lomanakshu and the others present in the kiva.

While Lomanakshu was absent in the Antelope kiva Nakwa-

*The context leaves it somewhat doubtful whether this last clause refers to the children of the Hopi or of the corn (the corn ears).



PL. LXXXV. SNAKE HUNT OF THE FIRST DAY.

- a.* Three Snake priests leaving their village by the north trail, each priest carrying a digging stick, snake whip and bag of meal.
- b.* Snake priests ascending the mesa north of the village of Mishongnovi.
- c.* The shrine of Mochipapoypi, where appropriate offerings were deposited on the first day's ceremonial hunt. This was formerly a spring.
- d.* Lománakshu and Choshnímtiwa digging out a prairie-dog hole.

yeshwa went out and brought in a very old bag of buffalo hide, which was deposited near the flour sack on which lay the snake whips. On Lomanakshu's return he emptied the contents of the buffalo bag, which consisted of the snake kilts, arm bands, bandoleers, a rattle similar to the antelope rattles, and other objects of Snake Dance paraphernalia. Nakwayeshwa took one of the small painted bags, several of which had been removed by Lomanakshu from the bag, and with red paint besmeared the face of Choshnimtiwa and then made a streak with his finger down each side of his breast over the nipples. During this time Lomanakshu had carefully examined the snake bags (some of buckskin, others of canvas) and had selected three perfect ones. They varied from eight to ten inches in length and from four to six in breadth, and on account of the long service which they had seen, it was necessary to examine them to see that they were in perfect condition, as otherwise the snakes might make their escape, a thing which is known to have happened several times. He next selected three snake whips and placed them with the bags near the fireplace. Then he selected a small canvas sack, which he partially filled with sacred meal from the tray, and deposited it by the side of the snake whips and bags. He sat down by the side of the fireplace and released his hair from the usual knot worn by the men and began shaking it out and combing it. Nakwayeshwa and Lomanakshu now painted their faces and breasts in the manner that has already been described. Choshnimtiwa took his calico shirt and rolled up in it two cakes of bread and several corn-husk packets (*comiwiki*); having formed the package into a convenient bundle, he passed the arms of the shirt around his body and tied them in front. Lomanakshu then gathered up three pipes and some native tobacco, and, placing them in his shirt, made the same sort of a bundle, which he also fastened behind him. These three then selected a snake whip and a bag, and Lomanakshu in addition the bag of meal, whereupon they filed out from the kiva, Lomanakshu leading the way.

It should be noted that each one of these three Snake priests had, on arriving at the kiva that morning, deposited on the outside of the kiva hatch a long wooden digging stick. Each one now picked up his own stick and in single file and at rapid gait they took the trail down on to the plateau between Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi (see Pl. LXXXV, *a* and *b*). They followed on to the north of Shipaulovi and there took the trail leading up toward the summit of the mesa. About half way up this trail they encountered the Möchikapoypi shrine, where, it is said, formerly a spring existed. This, as may be seen from the photograph (Pl. LXXXV,

c), was a rectangular space surrounded by a stone wall in a condition of semi-decay. Here all three halted and Lomanakshu took from the meal bag the nakwakwosi which had been given him by the Antelope priest and the four nakwakwosis which he had previously made and consecrated, as has already been described, uttered a prayer over them and deposited them in a cleft in the rocks in a corner of the shrine. Above this were noticed several old bahos deposited during former ceremonies. The prayer that Lomanakshu uttered before depositing the bahos was as follows:

Pai uma nōngakni, shōshoyamu úma óomawhtu yūyahtā nōngakni. Uma nōngaqōe yan itánatwangu ang um uh balaye akv angnankwu-shaqōe, itahnatwangu angpóciwaqōe, itahtí angnōnōshani. Yan hakam itanaam ang itamu ayalalawaa. Owi uma itch nōngakni.

[Now, you emerge! All you clouds come out arrayed. And having come out and thus letting your rain water meander through our crops, they will sprout and our children will (have something to) eat. Thus our fathers have sent us. Therefore, you come out quickly.]

Again he sprinkled meal over them and handed a pinch to the other two men, who did likewise, when they resumed their journey toward the top of the mesa, which was reached about twelve o'clock.

Arriving at the top of the mesa the snake hunt began in earnest. The sight was an exceedingly pleasing one, as the three men began an eager search here and there, one going in one direction, another in another, coming, going, now all together, now widely separated, but always moving at a rapid rate, beating the sage brush with their digging sticks and never ceasing in their earnest search for a moment. All three of the men were entirely naked except for a scant loin cloth and moccasins. The hair was permitted to hang freely from the head. One man was followed on this hunt until late in the afternoon, when, owing to the excessive heat and the failure to provide food and water, the author was obliged to abandon the hunt and return to the village. During that time, however, it was not learned that any of the men had been successful in their search for snakes, and they were evidently becoming very restive under the belief that their lack of success was due to the presence of a stranger. At one time early in the search a hole was discovered which it was thought might conceal a snake (see Pl. LXXXV, *d*), whereupon the priest Choshnimitwa, dropping upon his knees, began digging, first with his hands and then with the digging stick, at a furious rate. The excavation was continued to the depth of about three feet, when, the hole growing larger, he was able by thrusting his arm into the hole up to his elbow to reach the end of the

hole. This being found empty was abandoned. It is worthy of note in this connection that the arm was repeatedly thrust into the hole, there being absolutely no fear shown as to any possible evil consequences.

During the time of the departure of the Snake men until their return that evening the Snake kiva was abandoned except for old Homiwushyoma, who, being blind, naturally could not take part in the ceremonial hunts. Throughout the day the Antelope kiva also was abandoned except for the presence at noon of Polihungwa and Shakventiwa and the three boys, who again brought food into the kiva and there ate their noonday meal.

At about half-past seven o'clock the three Snake men returned to the kiva, dropping their digging sticks on the hatchway just before descending the ladder. Two of the hunters had been successful and deposited the bags containing their snakes side by side to the east of the pile of snake whips. The three men then seated themselves near the fireplace, removed their moccasins and shook out the sand and Lomanakshu lighted the cedar bark fuse and filled two pipes with native tobacco, which he next lighted and passed one to his fellow priest, both smoking silently for several minutes and constantly exchanging the pipes, greeting each other as they did so with terms of relationship. Choshnimtiwa, being a mere boy of about thirteen years of age, did not at this or any other time indulge in the smoking. While the two priests were smoking Qötkchbuyaoma entered the kiva, apparently for the first time during the ceremony, bringing with him a bowl of *comiwiki* and a gourd of water. Removing his moccasins he sat down on the west of the fireplace facing old Homiwushyoma with the two adult priests who engaged in the hunt, between the fireplace and the snake whips, the four men thus forming a semicircle. Immediately after his entrance in the circle he was handed a pipe by Lomanakshu and smoked it. Presently another member entered, bringing in a large rattlesnake in the sleeve of an old shirt, which he had tied at both ends. This was deposited by the side of the two snake bags containing snakes, whereupon he removed his moccasins and joined the circle of silent smokers.

Contrary to the usual custom, the snakes were not transferred this night from the bags to the snake jars, and as a matter of fact the snake jars had not yet been brought into the kiva.* Beyond the smoking indulged in by the Snake men during the evening and a visit which Lomanakshu later paid to the Antelope kiva, where he smoked

*When asked the reason, later on, Lomanakshu said that they had gotten home rather late that evening, and as there had been no special need of the vessels that night he had not sent for them.

with Polihungwa, there were no ceremonies enacted. All priests of both Snake and Antelope Fraternities who up to this time had engaged in any way in the ceremony slept in the kiva during the night. It is expected that after they have paid their first visit to the kiva they are to pass the night, as well as the remaining nights of the ceremony, in the kiva. As will be seen later, owing to the great necessity of the priests to attend to their crops in the fields, those who were to play a minor part in the ceremony did not put in an appearance until later on. The chief priests of both societies of course naturally sleep in the kiva during each ceremonial night from the beginning of the ceremony.

THIRD DAY (LÖSHOTALA, SECOND DAY), AUGUST 15.

On entering the Snake kiva at seven o'clock in the morning of this day it was found to be deserted except for Homiwushyoma and Choshnimtiwa. Evidently there had been no change during the night, except that the snake whips had some time during the night been removed to the west side of the snake bags and were now lying on a large Oraiba basket tray. Both the Snake and Antelope *natsis* were in position as usual. Presently a boy about ten years of age entered the kiva, bringing with him a bowl of food. Soon another boy enters with a tray of *piki* and a bowl of stew. Then followed Lomanakshu and two other Snake priests, bringing with them their food. While they were eating Lomanakshu, who had had his breakfast very early in the day, seated himself to the west of the fireplace with his plume box and began making nakwakwosis.

The Antelope kiva likewise at this early hour had been deserted, the *natsi* being in place as usual. Within a short space of time Polihungwa and Sikangpu entered the kiva. Sikangpu immediately upon his arrival began making nakwakwosis, of which he made five of the usual length which were colored red, and one with a longer string which was not colored red. The feathers, it was ascertained, used in these nakwakwosis were those of the duck. In the meantime the boys, as usual, had now returned to the kiva, bringing with them food which they ate with Shakventiwa. At the conclusion of their meal the kiva was partially swept and put in order by Polihungwa, who then seated himself by the side of the fireplace and filled two pipes. One of the boys was sent out and soon returned with a live coal, with which the chief priest lighted two pipes, passing one to Sikangpu, whereupon both smoked for several minutes in silence. Polihungwa then picked up the tray of sacred meal upon which had been deposited the six nakwakwosis just made and smoked over them four times. The tray

was handed to the other priest, who repeated the performance. Just after this consecration of the nakwakwosis began the boys all left the kiva.

On returning to the Snake kiva it was noticed that the morning meal had been concluded and the food bowls and refuse had been removed from the kiva. Choshnimtiwa left the kiva and soon returned with a large native water jar, flat on one side and globular on the other. Sitting down on the platform, with a sharp-pointed stone he proceeded to break a hole in its upper side which was enlarged to about two inches in diameter. He then fastened several bits of corn cobs together by means of a yucca string and fitted them to the aperture as a stopper, another stopper being provided in the same manner for the regular opening of the jar. This work concluded, he left the kiva again and soon returned with a blanket containing sand. This sand was gotten from one of the sand hills west of the mesa. Usually a man of the Sand clan gets the sand used in ceremonies, but if none is obtainable any one may get it, preference, however, being given to clan members related to the Sand clan. Sometimes a man is called that belongs to the Sand clan, though he may be no participant of that particular ceremony. He passed the blanket to Nakwayeshwa who carried it to the southeast corner of the kiva, and the sand was there spread out on the stone floor to the depth of about two inches, covering an area of about two by three feet. On this sand bed was placed the large water jar, with the flat side down and the globular side with the hole upwards (see Pl. LXXXIII, *b*). Lomanakshu, who had been sitting just to the south of the fireplace, now lighted the pipe of old Homiwushyoma by means of the cedar bark fuse which was now exhausted, whereupon Choshnimtiwa made another one. With the new fuse Lomanakshu lighted two additional pipes, one of which he handed to his brother, Nakwayeshwa, and the other he smoked himself. Thus, as they smoked, they were in the usual position which had been maintained up to this time, with Homiwushyoma on the east and Nakwayeshwa on the west. While they were smoking Choshnimtiwa left the kiva and returned with a pine box two feet in length and a foot in height. In the bottom of this box he cut a hole about two inches in diameter which he provided with a corn-cob stopper, as in the case of the earthenware vessel. The box was then placed by the side of the water vessel in the southeast side of the kiva, with its lower arm buried in the sand. Nakwahungwa entered the kiva, bringing with him a small red cotton bag containing a snake, which he placed by the side of the other bags and the sleeve. This Snake man, it will be remembered, was the one who

brought the sleeve containing the snake to the kiva on the previous evening. He then removed his shirt and trousers and went over to the Antelope kiva. A woman's voice was heard on the outside of the kiva, whereupon Homiwushyoma ascended the ladder and soon returned with a roasted rabbit which was at once divided between the two boys who had retained their position on the platform. Nakwahungwa now returned from the Antelope kiva, bringing with him the nakwakwosis which had been made and consecrated by the Antelope priest, as has already been described. Placing the nakwakwosis on the tray containing the sacred meal, he emptied a pipe and refilled it, smoking upon them four times. While this consecration of the bahos was going on by these few priests, additional Snake members began to enter the kiva from time to time. As a rule, immediately upon entering the kiva, they removed their shirts and trousers, letting down their hair and taking a position in a constantly increasing number, forming a circle about the fireplace, where they joined the smokers, each exchanging terms of relationship as the pipe was passed to him. The tray containing the nakwakwosis is also passed to each one, who smokes over it slowly and deliberately, puffing smoke directly upon the nakwakwosis four times. Among the newcomers was another boy, bearing with him an old flour sack filled with many rolls of fine wafer-like *piki* bread. During all this time strict decorum was maintained in the kiva, and a seriousness was maintained by all alike. Lomanakshu then addressed the men at considerable length in a low voice, all responding "*Anchaa*" (all right, or amen). He claims that he repeats the speech made to him by Polihungwa in the Antelope kiva, to which he adds: Yan hakam itámui öokalanta (that way he urges us). At the conclusion of his address the old blind priest, Homiwushyoma, addressed the priests at considerable length, at the conclusion of which they answered "*Owe*" (Yes). Another boy entered, bearing a tray of *piki* and two roasted rabbits. Another Snake priest entered, bringing with him a snake whip which he deposited with the other whips lying on the sack. He also disrobed and took a place by Homiwushyoma and lighted a pipe and began smoking in silence. At this point a number of masks and other paraphernalia belonging to the different Katsinas, which up to this time had been lying in promiscuous confusion on the banquette of the kiva, were gathered together in blankets and removed by Choshnimitiwa and Lomakuíwa. Still another priest entered for the first time during the ceremony and, after disrobing, joined the semicircle of the smokers. There were now twelve in the kiva, all, except the boys, in a semicircle engaged in fraternal smoking. The nakwakwosis having been returned to

their original position in front of the pile of snake whips, Lomanakshu now gave to one of the priests four nakwakwosis and a small bag of meal, which he tied up in an old cotton handkerchief and left the kiva. Presumably these were deposited in some shrine or spring.* Lomanakshu next gave to each of the priests present a single red-stained nakwakwosi, which he tied into his hair. At this point another priest entered, joined the circle and smoked, after having disrobed, and Lomanakshu securing his feather bags made for him a *nakwaita*, his supply having been exhausted in the distribution just mentioned. Then Lomanakshu filled his mouth with water and, ascending to the kiva hatchway, turned to the east and washed his face and hands and entered the Antelope kiva. During his absence the Snake priests began active operations for the hunt. The majority of them, having in some niche in the kiva wall an individual buckskin sack containing red paint, secured it and with this they painted their faces a light red color, and with the finger painted a deep red line down each breast over the nipples.

On Lomanakshu's entering the Antelope kiva he was greeted by the Antelope priest and sat down with him by the side and to the west of the fireplace. Polihungwa then lighted a pipe filled with native tobacco, and taking up a meal tray upon which were four nakwakwosis which he had made early that morning, he smoked over them four times. He then deposited the tray on the floor and passed the pipe to Lomanakshu, exchanging terms of relationship, who also held the tray in front of him and smoked on the nakwakwosis four times. Arising, he went to the rear of the kiva where he smoked on each one of the Antelope *tiponies* and returned to the side of Polihungwa where he finished smoking the pipe. There was then an interchange of speeches between the two chiefs, and Lomanakshu took up the nakwakwosis, together with a handful of meal which he rolled up in a corner of his blanket, whereupon he began to address Polihungwa. He then rose and sprinkled meal over each *tiponi* four times and departed for his own kiva. Here he transferred the nakwakwosis and meal to the small buckskin sack, adding to it a nakwakwosi with an unusually long feather from his own tray. He then gathered several pipes and some native tobacco, together with corn husks to be used as cigarettes, which had been brought in by one of the priests, and placed them in another sack. He then fastened by means of a cord around his neck a small sack of red paint. The priests then began to examine the snake sacks, each one being

* Upon inquiry, Lomanakshu stated later that this man had wanted to go to his field and he had given him some prayer offerings, which was usually done on such occasions.

careful to select a sack which was in perfect condition. To each one of the priests was then handed by Lomanakshu a snake whip and a small bag containing meal.

It will be noticed that the snakes which had been brought in after the first day's hunt to the north, as well as the snake which had been brought in the sleeve on the previous night and the one brought in early this morning, were still lying by the side of and to the east of the snake whips, and it seemed at this time as though the snakes were not to be transferred to the receptacles which had been provided for them early in the morning until the return of the priests that night. This seemed all the more probable as the men were apparently ready to leave the kiva. The writer, desiring to follow them on the hunt, had occasion to leave the kiva in order to secure a camera. But upon his entering the kiva after the men had departed, later in the day, it was found the snakes had been transferred. In other words, the Snake men, although seemingly willing to permit of our observing all the details of the ceremony, had not yet brought themselves to the point of permitting us to witness the transferring of the snakes. It was noted on this return that both jar and box had been sprinkled with meal.

Lomanakshu leading the way, the Snake priests filed out of the kiva, where each one took up his digging stick, which had either been there from the night before or had been brought with him and there deposited that morning; some of them had also provided themselves with bent rabbit sticks. Still with Lomanakshu in the lead they started off at a brisk pace toward the west on the second day's ceremonial hunt. Taking the trail just south of the kiva leading down into the first terrace they passed on toward the west along the ledge until they came to the Shipaulovi trail where they descended down the mesa making straight for Toreva spring. Here they filed around on the west side of the spring. The better to understand what followed it will be necessary to say a word concerning the approaches leading down to the water (see Pl. LXXXVI). The spring may be approached from either the east or the west side, where a descending path supported by a wall of stone laid in courses leads to the first terrace. Here again two diagonally opposite paths similarly constructed lead to the second terrace, where again paths lead to the third terrace, the terraces of course decreasing in size downward. The surface of the water surrounded by the third terrace is about twenty feet in diameter. The outlet of the spring is to the south where it is bridged at the second terrace by a rough hewn plank. On the north side of the spring stands a large rock which in height is

PL. LXXXVI. TOREVA SPRING.

This large spring lies at the foot of the trail leading to the west from Mishongnovi.

The three terraces and the large rock with its two shrines are important features of the spring.



equal to the combined height of the three terraces. The base of the rock is somewhat pointed so that towards its middle it slightly overhangs the water of the spring. The first, second and third terraces are interrupted at this point and to cross around the spring on the first and second terraces is not possible, while on the third terrace access from one side to the other may be had by stepping, when the spring is low, on a rock which just reaches the surface of the water.

With the priests standing in a single line, Lomanakshu and Lomakuiwa started on alone, descending by the path until the second terrace had been reached. Having entered from the west side, it was necessary for them to make a dextral circuit, which is contrary to the usual ceremonial circuit of the Hopi. They advanced in a stooping posture, Lomanakshu shaking his snake whip in front of him with the old man following close behind. On reaching the water's edge just to the east on the north side of the rock, Lomanakshu stepped over to the west side of the rock while Lomakuiwa halted on the east side. Lomanakshu continued shaking his snake whip, but now over the water, while Lomakuiwa stooped and sprinkled meal in the water and with his hand tossed the water in the four directions, praying all the while in a low voice. Then he stood erect and handed over this arm of the spring a pinch of meal to Lomanakshu, who stooped and dropped the meal in the water and flipped the water in the four directions, uttering a silent prayer all the time. In the meantime the remaining priests had filed in single line down on to the lower terrace and on the northwest side of the large rock, the head line now being next Lomanakshu.* Lomakuiwa now crossed over and gave to each one a pinch of the meal, whereupon each went through the performance just described. All now drank from the spring by a peculiar motion, which seems to be universally known in the southwest, by throwing water into the mouth by means of a rapid motion of the hand. Lomanakshu now passed to the head of the line on the lower terrace and leading the way they gained the summit at the spring, where they immediately set out towards the rough and broken country lying between Mishongnovi and Shongopavi and shut in by the mesa at the near north. They had not proceeded more than a hundred yards when they began their hunt, each individual, as a rule, striking out alone. The hunt was continued until seven o'clock in the afternoon, as has already been described for the previous day, but with rather

*Considerable interest attaches itself to this ceremony in view of the fact that during the afternoon information was volunteered by one of the Snake priests that this spring, as are all springs, is the home of a Ballölökong, the great plumed serpent, and that prayers were especially addressed to him that the hunters might be successful, that the snakes might not see them and consequently that the snakes would not bite them.

indifferent success, inasmuch as, owing to a very slight fall of rain the night before, the surface of the earth, usually of fine dust, was now in a caked condition and it was not therefore easy to track the snakes, and this is usually the most available way of finding them. On visiting the Snake and Antelope kivas on the afternoon of this day they were found practically deserted; the Antelope priests spending the day in looking after their crops in the field and the Snake kiva being kept by old blind Homiwushyoma.

Although two of the Snake men were followed this day for several hours, yet in neither case was there any success, consequently the actual capture of a snake was not witnessed. One Snake priest, however, described the process. According to his statement, when the snakes are not dug out of the ground they are generally found coiled up asleep under a sage brush. In this case sacred meal is first sprinkled toward them. Should the snake now start to make its escape it is immediately picked up by the naked hand just back of the neck and thrust into the snake sack which each priest always has with him. Should, however, the snake assume a striking attitude the snake whip is generally waved in front of it, whereupon it uncoils and is then captured. It is believed that the capture of a snake in the field has been witnessed and described by a single pair of observers.

At seven o'clock in the evening the line of Snake priests on their return from the hunt was seen coming up the trail of the lower mesa. Having gained the summit of this lower mesa they halted, faced the east on the trail while Lomanakshu uttered a silent prayer and then deposited a single red-stained *nakwakwosi* on the trail. He next scattered meal over it and waved his snake whip over it. The line then started for the kiva, each priest as he passed the *nakwakwosi* facing again towards the east and sprinkling the *nakwakwosi* meal and waving over it his snake whip. Having arrived at the kiva hatchway each one, just before descending, dropped his digging stick. Having entered the kiva, they first deposited their whips in their accustomed place on the old bearskin sack, and then the sacks containing the snakes were deposited in a row by the side and to the east of the snake whips, while the others placed their empty bags on the other bundle to the west of the snake whips where the other snake paraphernalia lay in confusion. Lomanakshu then spoke a few words to old Homiwushyoma, presumably informing him as to the success of their hunt, and he answered "*Kwakkwai*." They then lounged about in different parts of the kiva, chiefly upon the platform, removed their moccasins and shook out the sand for a few moments. Lomanakshu

and one or two of the older priests took their accustomed place near the fireplace where they began smoking. The snakes were not transferred that night to the snake receptacles, nor was any further ceremony indulged in, either in the Snake or Antelope kiva.

FOURTH DAY (BAYISHTALA, THIRD DAY), AUGUST 16.

On entering the Snake kiva early in the morning of this day the majority of the priests, eleven in number, were found eating on the platform. Lomanakshu was seated on the west side of the main floor of the kiva making nakwakwosis. The snakes had been transferred from the sacks to the snake receptacles, it was learned, immediately after our departure on the previous night. As the men gradually concluded their meal they disrobed and took their accustomed places in the semicircle about the fireplace. Choshnimitiwa left the kiva and soon returned with cedar bark and yucca leaves, from which Qõtch-buyaoma made cedar bark fuses. With these Homiwushyoma lighted a pipe and began smoking. Other priests now entered, two of them puffing violently and with their bodies covered with perspiration. It was apparent that a majority of the priests would be present on this the third day of the hunt, and these men had run into the village from their fields situated a long distance out on the plains. Presently some one shouted from the outside and Homiwushyoma went out and brought back a sack which evidently contained one or more snakes. This was put to the east of the snake whips by the side of another bag which had been brought in by a late arrival. The priests, as they entered from time to time, went and seated themselves almost directly on the platform for the morning meal, all, however, first filling their mouths with water and going outside of the kiva where, by spurting water into their hands, they washed their faces.

Lomanakshu now made his regular visit to the Antelope kiva. On taking his position by the Antelope priest, by whom he was greeted, he addressed the Antelope priest somewhat as follows: Yesterday we went into the fields to the west and performed our work and accomplished our mission; to-day we are going to do something, we are going to do our work (*i. e.*, to hunt snakes). The answer of the Antelope priest was this: Yesterday you did your work, you did it well; to-day you are going out to accomplish something; may you be glad, may you be brave! Yesterday you were out and did that thing; to-day you will go out again. Whereupon Lomanakshu answered: May we be glad, may we be brave! Polihungwa now lighted a pipe filled with native tobacco, and puffed on it several times to get it

thoroughly lighted. Then taking up a tray containing four nakwakwosis and a *pūhū*,* which he had made earlier in the day, he smoked upon them four times and passed the tray and the pipe to Lomanakshu, who did the same. The tray being passed back to Polihungwa, he gave the nakwakwosis, together with a small handful of meal, to Lomanakshu, who, placing them in the corner of his blanket, arose, sprinkled meal upon the tiponis as before and returned to the Snake kiva.† Here he placed the nakwakwosis and meal in their accustomed place upon the tray and sat down in his usual position, *i. e.*, with his knees drawn up in front of his chin, just to the south of the fireplace. The fuse being lighted by Sikayoma from a glowing coal which Choshnimitiwa had just brought in and passed to Lomanakshu, he lighted a pipe and, after smoking for some minutes, took up the tray of meal with the nakwakwosi in his left hand and, holding it close in front of him, smoked upon the nakwakwosi, replacing the tray in its former position and continued smoking. After awhile he handed the pipe to another priest in the circle, who picked up the tray and smoked over the nakwakwosi four times and then passed the pipe to his neighbor on his left, who did the same. The late arrivals were now about concluding the morning meal on the platform. The pipe and tray of nakwakwosis were now passed by Lomanakshu to his brother, Nakwayeshwa, who smoked over them. Practically all the priests had now concluded eating, had washed their faces and hands in the manner recently described on their re-entering the kiva and had resumed their positions in a semicircle about the fireplace. Lomanakshu then made the usual, somewhat lengthy address, all answering from time to time, "*Anchaa*." At his conclusion the old blind priest Homiwushyoma spoke at length. Again Lomanakshu lighted with the fuse the pipe, which had been replenished with native tobacco, smoked silently and passed it to his neighbor on the left. There now was begun a lengthy discussion as to whether the snakes which had been brought in and which had not been captured in the regular way by the snake hunters would be transferred now or in the evening. It was finally decided to postpone their transfer until later in the day. The chief reason for this was the fact that the priests had up to this time provided only two receptacles for the snakes, and it was not thought desirable to crowd them too much by placing more in these two.

*Lomanakshu says he keeps this *pūhū* until he is ready to return homeward from the snake hunt, when he places it on the trail (though it be only an imaginary one) on which he is to return homeward, as a wish or prayer for a safe return.

†Polihungwa then also sends four messengers to the four world quarters with a single green baho and some cornmeal each.

Active preparations were begun by many of the priests for the coming hunt. Those who had not previously done so began to disrobe, loosened their hair, which was combed out carefully by means of native brushes. It was curious to note the change in the spirit of the men each morning as they began making preparations for the hunt. While directing their attention to the consecration of the nakwakwosis, silence and a spirit of seriousness pervaded the kiva. Now, however, the tension was broken and the men talked freely among themselves, laughing and joking without restraint. The food bowls were gathered up into one pile and put away in a corner on the platform and the kiva was placed in order. Lomanakshu then distributed to the new-comers who had not been present on the snake hunt of the previous day a nakwakwosi, which each tied in his hair. Then, as before, some of the younger priests began arranging bundles of food which had been brought in for the journey, while Lomanakshu gathered native tobacco and pipes, which he made into a bundle and swung around his hips, tying the strings of the bundle in front of him. Some of the other priests also took up from the large sack of native tobacco a handful together with corn husks for cigarettes. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that a white visitor to the kiva had deposited a large sack of American tobacco as a peace-offering. His advances, however, had not been accepted, and he was not permitted again to enter the kiva. His offering of tobacco was permitted to remain, however, in the position in which he had placed it by the fireplace. On this morning one of the men began opening the sack, evidently for the purpose of taking some of the tobacco with him on the hunt, but he was severely reprimanded by the chief priest and returned the sack to its original position.

After all had had their faces painted in the usual manner and had daubed two streaks of red down the breast to the waist, each man selected a snake whip from the pile, while Lomanakshu turned over the snake bags, looking for those which were in perfect condition, which he distributed among the Snake priests. He also distributed to those to whom he had not previously given them small bags containing sacred meal. At fifteen minutes after eleven o'clock they slowly filed out of the kiva with Lomanakshu at the head of the procession, taking up their digging sticks as they gained the hatchway and forming in line until all were ready. It was noticed this morning that, in addition to the digging sticks, there were many *putskohos* (rabbit sticks) present. The entire Snake Fraternity, twenty in number, including several small boys, were present for this morning's

hunt, except old blind Homiwushyoma, who remained behind as usual to guard the kiva.

This being the third day of the ceremonial hunt they immediately started down the south trail of the village, where they soon scattered out and continued the hunt throughout the day (see Pls. LXXXVII and LXXXVIII). Inasmuch as we were informed that there was no particular ceremony to take place at any spring or shrine this day, the priests were not followed very far. We were informed by Lomanakshu, however, that at a distance of some three miles in the plain they would encounter a small spring where they would deposit the nakwakwosis, as in the manner described for the first day's ceremonial hunt.

Throughout the day and until the return of the Snake priests, the Snake kiva remained entirely deserted except for old Homiwushyoma. The Antelope kiva also remained deserted for the greater part of the day. The Antelope priest, however, was present throughout the entire day and spent the morning making bahos. Of these he made four single green bahos four inches in length. These bahos bore no facet and gradually tapered toward one end, which terminated in a round point, the other end being cut off square. At this larger square end were fastened, about an inch apart, two nakwakwosis. In addition to these bahos he also made four nakwakwosis, consisting of a cotton string three inches in length, to one end of which was fastened a duck feather. These bahos and nakwakwosis form the offerings which are to be made to the shrines of the four world quarters on the following day by four Antelope priests.

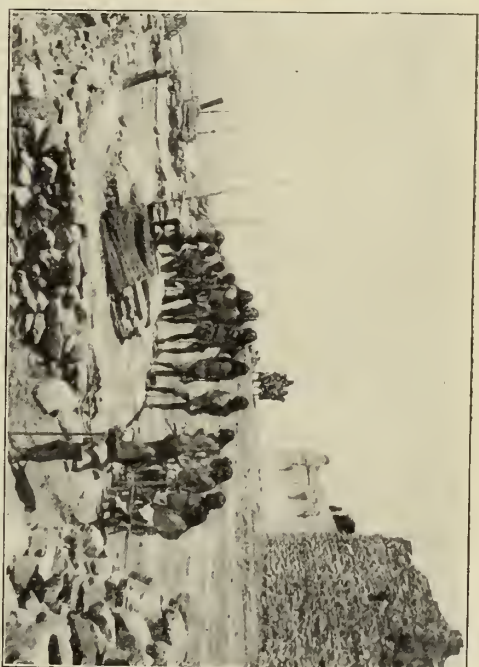
At half-past seven in the evening the Snake men, twenty in number, returned to the village; but this time they entered the village from the northeast trail instead of the south, as had been expected. Why this was done is not known. As they passed into the kiva one by one they dropped their digging sticks, and those who had them their rabbit sticks, on the outside of the kiva, and those who carried bags containing snakes deposited them by the side of the other bags, whereupon they removed their moccasins, shook out the dust and then began, on the part of some, the ceremonial and fraternal smoking about the hearth, while others went in quest of food for the evening meal. The snakes were not transferred to the receptacles this evening, nor did any further ceremonies take place, either in the Antelope or Snake kiva. Two rabbits which had been caught on this day's hunt were taken to some house to be cooked for the morrow's morning meal. All the priests are supposed to spend the nights throughout the ceremony in their respective kivas.

PL. LXXXVII. THE THIRD DAY'S CEREMONIAL HUNT.

- a.* Snake priests about to leave the kiva.
- b.* Snake priests forming in line just outside of the kiva.
- c.* Line of Snake priests with Lománakshu, the chief priest, at the head, ready to leave the mesa.
- d.* The Snake priests descending to the fields by the southeast trail.



a



b



c



d

PL. LXXXVIII. THE THIRD DAY'S CEREMONIAL HUNT.

- a.* The line of Snake priests on their way to the plain south of the village.
- b.* Lománakshu passing prayer-offerings and meal to one of the priests, to be deposited in the spring.



THE THIRD DAY'S CEREMONIAL HUNT.

FIFTH DAY (NALOSHITALA, FOURTH DAY), AUGUST 17.

On approaching the kivas early on this morning the *natsis* were found in their usual position, but within the kivas there were indications that the time for more important events of the great ceremony were at hand. This was especially noticed in the large number of men present in both kivas, and as a matter of fact all of the men have slept in or on their respective kivas, and the Snakes are here this morning for the fourth and final ceremonial snake hunt; and while hitherto only one or two of the Antelope priests had been present at intervals during each day, yet the majority of the Antelope priests were either in the kiva early on this morning or put in their appearance some time during the day. On entering the Snake kiva later in the morning, about eight o'clock, fifteen priests were present arranged in a semicircle around the fireplace. They had disrobed and loosened their hair and were engaged in smoking. The remains of the morning meal had been removed from the kiva.

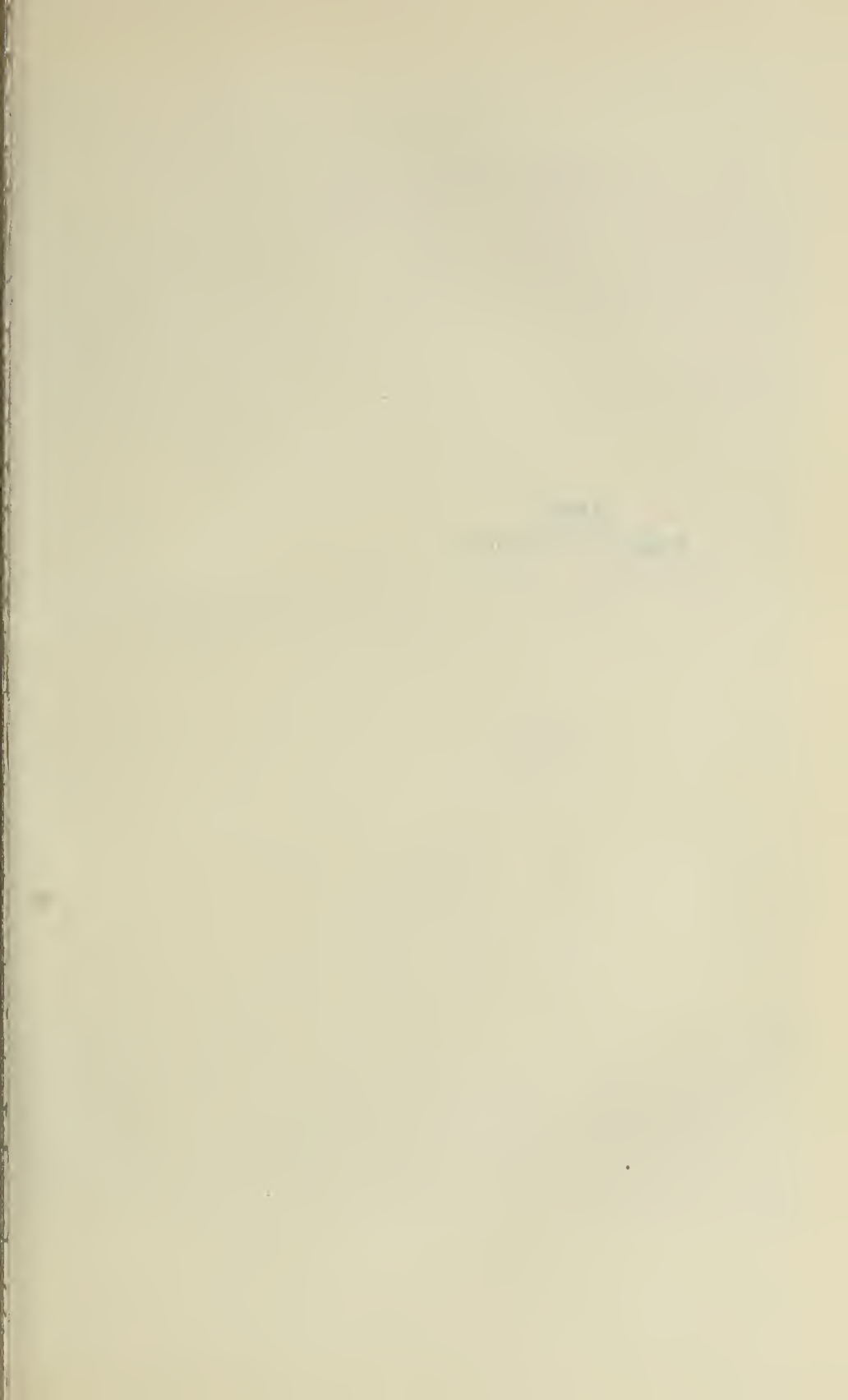
In the Antelope kiva, Polihungwa and Sikangpu were found at this time eating breakfast with three or four boys. Polihungwa immediately after breakfast began making *nakwakwosis*. He made eight of the ordinary *nakwakwosis* with the eagle breath feather, four of which he colored red with cuta, and one *pūhū* (road marker). This consisted of a cotton string about twenty inches in length terminating in an eagle breath and a chat feather. It was also noticed that by the side of the two *tīponis* lay four *mongwīkurus*, or priests' jugs. These had been brought in early this morning by Shakhungwa, Qōmāletstiwa, Sikanakpu and Shihkniwa.

As the Snake men continued the fraternal smoking their number was added to from time to time until the entire fraternity, twenty in number, were present. As each newcomer entered, food was brought for him, of which he partook, whereupon he removed his clothing, loosened his hair and joined the circle of smokers. Lomanakshu, assisted by his brother Nakwayeshwa, now began making *nakwakwosis* to be distributed to the additional priests present on this morning for the first time. As each of the priests received his *nakwakwosi* he tied it to a lock of his hair.* One of the priests, however, happened to be a boy not more than eight years of age whose hair had been closely cropped by the government school teacher. On this account, and the fact that he was entirely naked, arose an amusing incident as to where he should tie his *nakwakwosi*. One of the priests suggested

*In every ceremony the participants tie a feather to their hair, the time when this is done differing in the different ceremonies. This feather is called *nakwāita*, from *nāwakna*, want, wish, and *aonawakna*, to pray. Lomanakshu called this *nakwaita omawu-na-kwaita* (cloud prayer).

that he put it through his ear—for it is the custom of the Hopi to have large holes through the lobes of the ears through which a string may be passed, and in which they often wear silver rings or a short strand of turquoise beads; but the ears of this boy had never been pierced, consequently a string was tied around his neck and to this was attached the nakwakwosi.

Lomanakshu having concluded his distribution of nakwakwosis to the priests, made his way to the Antelope kiva, where he sat down in his accustomed place. While Polihungwa was staining red four of the eight nakwakwosis which he had just finished making, old Sikangpu obtained a tray and sat down to the right of Lomanakshu. Polihungwa now placed the nakwakwosis upon this tray, whereupon Sikangpu lighted a pipe with native tobacco, and after puffing it for an instant passed it to Polihungwa, together with the tray of nakwakwosis. Four times he smoked over the prayer-offerings, and then deposited the tray at his side, continuing smoking for some minutes. He now handed the pipe to Lomanakshu, who took the tray up in his hands and smoked upon the nakwakwosis five times. He deposited it in front of him and continued smoking. Polihungwa now addressed Lomanakshu at length. Lomanakshu answered "*Anchaa*," and in turn addressed Polihungwa. These speeches could not be recorded at the time but were obtained from Polihungwa later. He claims that he said in substance the following: "Taai uma pio angnan-kwushani. Naniwok momgwit itamui okwatowak yokwani. Puu uma tcuat hakam tutwani uma aonanawaknani puu yokwani. Pai owi uma hahlaikahkango." (You must pray that the clouds from the four world quarters have pity on us and rain for us. And if you find a rattlesnake you must pray to him and it will rain. So you be joyful. Well, you are going to start again.) To which Lomanakshu replies: "*Anchaa*, uma hahlaikang itamui nuhtaita." (All right, you joyfully (or gladly) wait for us.) Again Polihungwa made a speech, and at its conclusion passed the eight nakwakwosis and the *pühtavi* to Lomanakshu together with some sacred meal. Lomanakshu arose, sprinkled meal on each of the two *tiponis*, and placing the nakwakwosis and meal in a corner of his blanket, returned to the Snake kiva, where he separated the painted from the unpainted nakwakwosis and placed them in two piles on a basket tray upon some meal which Lomanakshu's brother, Nakwayeshwa, had just previously brought in. Lomanakshu sat down between the fireplace and the snake whips with his back to the rear of the kiva as usual, filled a pipe with native tobacco, lighted it, took up the tray and smoked over the nakwakwosis four times. Replacing the tray upon the floor





THE EXTERIOR OF THE SNAKE AND ANTELOPE KIVAS.

PL. LXXXIX. THE EXTERIOR OF THE SNAKE AND ANTELOPE KIVAS.

- a.* The Snake kiva, showing digging sticks, rabbit sticks, etc., at the mouth of the kiva.
- b.* An Antelope priest entering the kiva with *piki* bread.



PLATE XIX. THE COURSE OF THE CHINESE AND ANGELO RIVER.

The Chinese and Angelo rivers, which are the main sources of the water of the river, are shown in the foreground. The Chinese river is the one on the left, and the Angelo river is the one on the right. The river flows from the mountains in the background towards the foreground.



by his side he smoked for a few minutes and again picked up the tray and consecrated the bahos as before. The majority of the priests present who had been sitting in the circle now began to move about, searching for paint bags and making preparations for their departure. They painted their faces as usual, together with the breasts, and the hair of those who had not already done so was carefully shaken out and combed. Food was now brought into the kiva and was made up into bundles that it might be more easily transported to the fields. Lomanakshu then prayed, being answered by all present, "*Anchaa*," smoked for some time, then arose and made careful examination of the bags, a perfect one of which was handed to each priest, whereupon they filed out of the kiva, seized their digging sticks and rabbit sticks (see Plate LXXXIX) and descended by the east trail into the plain lying between Mishongnovi and Walpi. As they left the kiva it lacked but a few minutes of twelve o'clock. This was the fourth and final ceremonial day's hunt and consequently was to the east.

On entering the Antelope kiva immediately after the departure of the Snake men, Sikanakpu was found smoking over the *mong-wikurus* which remained in the same position as when seen early this morning. Of the other three men in the kiva at this time Polihungwa was seated on the west side of the main floor of the kiva continuing the manufacture of prayer-offerings. He had already brought in his stone paint grinders, two in number, and an eagle and a duck skin. He made sixteen nakwakwosis, each one containing an eagle and duck feather. These he did not stain red, but when finished he placed them on the tray containing sacred meal. He then began making bahos. The other members now began to make preparation for the erection of the altar and the sand mosaic. Namurztiwa now left the kiva, having been sent by Sikanakpu*, and soon returned with two bags of valley sand which he had obtained from a *pissatchmo* (sand hill) north of the village. During the absence of Namurztiwa, Sikangpu began sweeping the kiva, first slightly sprinkling it by spurting water over the floor from his mouth. Soon Namurztiwa returned with two blankets full of sand which he deposited on the floor of the kiva to the rear of, and on the east side of, the fireplace. One of the boys (three having recently entered the kiva) was sent out of the kiva and soon returned with three different sized sifters or loosely woven basket trays of yucca fibre. Sikanakpu then placed the *mongkohos* and *tiponis* near the end banquette of the kiva

*It is interesting to note that Sikanakpu formed an exception to the other priests in the kiva on this day, for instead of the usual scant loin cloth he wore the ceremonial blue kilt (*sakwapitkuna*).

and began sprinkling yellow sand on the floor near the center of and toward the east end of the kiva, to a depth of about two inches. The work progressing slowly he called upon the boys to assist, whereupon they entirely disrobed and began sifting sand. Sikangpu then left the kiva for a few minutes and returned with another sifter. He was closely followed by Qömahoiniwa and Naphöiniwa. After the sand had been sifted to a depth of about six inches over an area of about three feet square, Sikanakpu, getting down upon his knees, began carefully increasing the size of the field until it measured approximately four and a half feet in width from north to south by about five feet in length (*i. e.* from east to west, or along the short diameter of the kiva). The depth of the sand was now about one inch and the back edge of the field just reached the wooden plank weaving-frame set in the floor of the kiva. The sand was of a uniform reddish yellow color. Apparently, however, the field was not sufficiently deep; for additional sand was sprinkled over the field by one of the boys. Sikangpu then sat down near the fireplace and smoked for a few minutes. It is improbable that there was no ceremonial intent in this act. He then left the kiva together with the boy who had recently been helping him, both, as well as all the other members in the kiva, of course being naked except for a loin cloth. It is not known whether either of these two individuals bore with him from the kiva any offering; but as they were about to leave they were addressed by Polihungwa, and, among other words, was recognized "*Kohkangwuhti*" (Spider Woman). Within a short time the boy returned bringing a number of corn husks, and Sikangpu two long eagle feathers. With these two feathers Sikanakpu and Namurztiwa trimmed up and squared the edges of the sand field and gradually worked it back toward the rear of the kiva, as they had decided that the forward edge of the field was so close to the fireplace that it did not leave sufficient space for the many trays of bahos which were to find their place here or for the priests who were to sit by the altar during the coming night ceremonies. After finally trimming up the field and sweeping up the loose sand which now measured one inch in depth, Sikangpu left the kiva and returned with two additional eagle feathers. It is possible that this journey outside of the kiva had another object; for shortly after Shakhungwa entered the kiva, it being now twelve o'clock. He immediately disrobed, loosened his hair and filling a pipe of native tobacco, sat down to the east of the fireplace and indulged in silent smoking for several minutes. Two of the boys were now sent out of the kiva, one of them returning with a live coal on a large potsherd which he deposited in a corner of

the hearth, and the second boy bringing bunches of herbs for Polihungwa, to be used on his bahos.

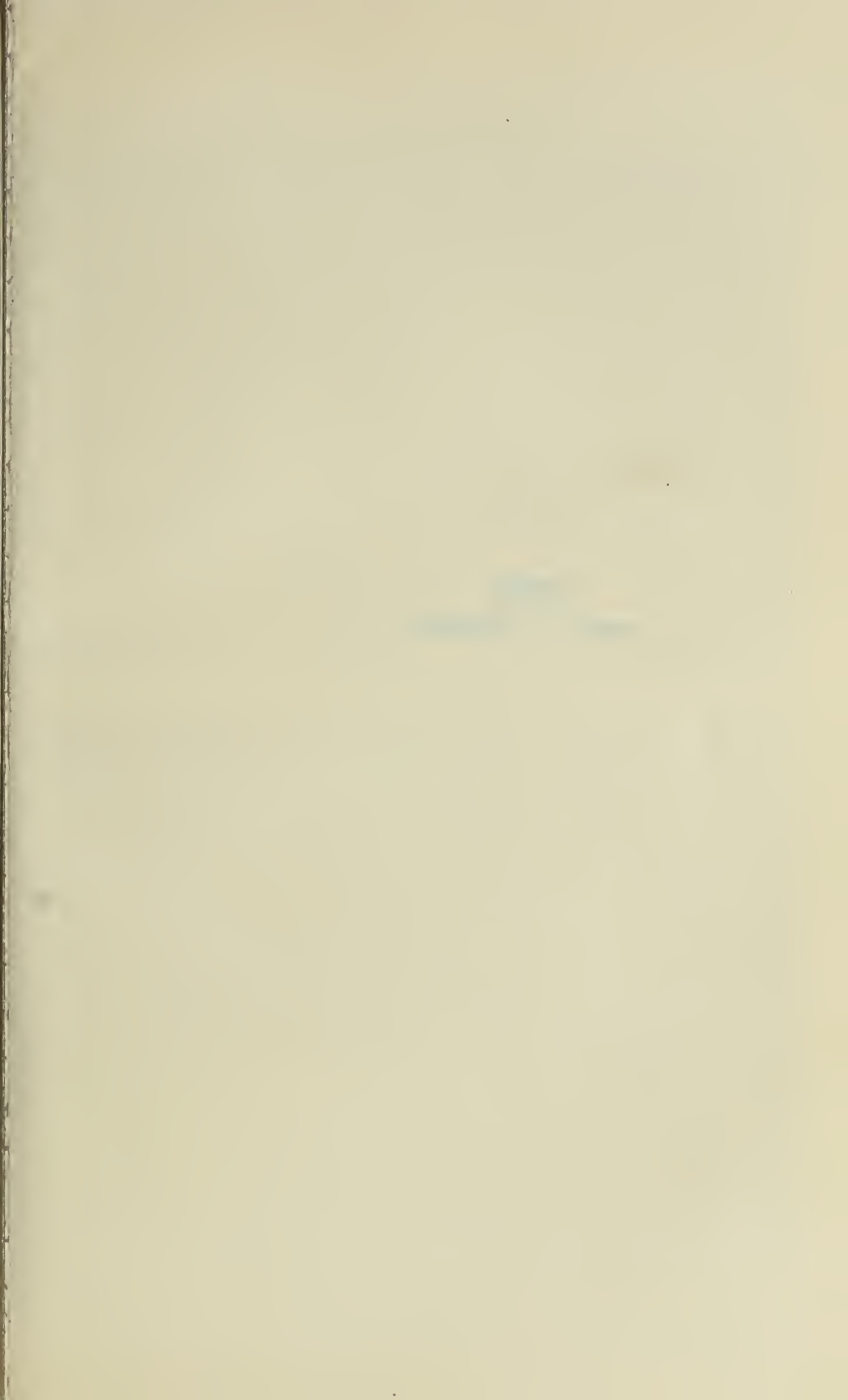
Polihungwa now discontinued for a few minutes his baho making, and joining Shakhungwa, took a long cotton string, with which they laid the sand field off into five concentric squares.* These lines of course were for the better guidance of the priests later, as they covered and filled in on the sand field with the four different colors for the four world quarters. The lines for the world quarters having thus been marked off, Namurztiwa began to outline in the sand with the point of a quill the cloud and lightning symbols. The field was now ready for the colored sands which were to form the mosaic. The actual formation of the mosaic by means of the colored sand was begun by Sikanakpu, who commenced a black band about an inch in width on the northwest corner, which he continued on the west side. Before he had carried this to any extent Namurzitwa began a yellow band on the northeast corner and carried it forward on the north side toward the west. Simultaneously Shakhungwa began a green band on the northeast corner and carried it to a distance of six inches in each direction from that corner. He then did the same with the red band and with the white band, and began filling in the green cloud. Namurztiwa continued his yellow band along the west side and along the south side, while Sikanakpu completed his north black band. Shakhungwa, without having completed any of the bands that he was so far engaged at, began to fill in the first red cloud symbol. Namurztiwa continued his yellow band to the east and Shakhungwa began a white cloud symbol. Sikanakpu then finished a red cloud, Namurztiwa a yellow, Sikanakpu another red, while Shakhungwa began the white lightning symbol, completing half of it and beginning on another white cloud. Namurztiwa finished his three yellow cloud symbols and then took up the fourth. Sikanakpu began and finished his fourth red cloud while Sikangpu completed the second white cloud and began the white lightning symbol. At this point Qōmahoiniwa sent two of the boys for more sand as the supply of certain colors was growing short. Namurztiwa began the yellow lightning symbol while Sikanakpu finished the fourth red lightning symbol. Shakhungwa then began the white field lying to the east of the white lightning symbol.

In the meantime Sikangpu left the kiva and returned in a few moments with a large red bowl which he placed on the banquette to the

*The junior author has frequently seen sand mosaics made but never before saw any line, square, straight edge or any other instrument used, the priests always arranging the sand field and the figures on it by eyesight only.

rear of the kiva, which later was to hold the corn and bean plants and a medicine bowl, together with an aspergil (*makwanpi*). Namurziwa began the red lightning symbol. Shakhungwa continued the white field surrounding the white lightning symbol and carried it to the west to the next lightning symbol. Namurziwa finished the red lightning symbol and began the red band of the north, when he discovered that he had overlooked a detail in his lightning symbol and returned to it, putting on its horns. Sikangpu then took up the north white band and Namurziwa the west red band, while Shakhungwa began outlining with a fine black line here and there, beginning between the red and green and the red and yellow on the north-east corner. Sikanakpu then began on the second green cloud symbol, while Namurziwa worked on the southern red cloud symbol. Shakhungwa continued with the black dividing line, working now on the corner between the white and red bands. Sikanakpu began his third green cloud symbol and Namurziwa took up the east red band. Shukhungwa continued the black line now outlining the first yellow cloud symbol.

For several minutes previous Polihungwa had desisted from his baho making and stood by watching the three priests making the mosaic, commenting upon the work from time to time with them. Namurziwa now began the green lightning symbol. Shakhungwa continued with his fine black line, now dividing the green from the red cloud symbols; next outlining the east white cloud, then the second and third yellow clouds, and the fourth and fifth green clouds. He then began with the black line to divide the field and the yellow band on the west, finished the outlining of the fourth yellow cloud and then put in the line separating the north white and red bands. Sikangpu then joined in the work and finished the white field and made it more perfect to the east of the white lightning symbol. Namurziwa finished filling in the fifth green cloud and began the west green band. Sikanakpu now worked awhile on the north green band, finishing it to half its extent, and then worked on the east green band, which he finished and then continued the north green band, while Sikangpu filled in with white the field between the red and green cloud symbols. Then Sikanakpu began the west green band. Shakhungwa in the meantime continued his boundary lines, now working between the north white and red bands and then between the red and green, and then starting toward the south on the west side, and, returning to the north, surrounded the white band. He now laid down his black paint and completed the fifth white cloud symbol and filled in the remaining space of the white field between the red and green. Sikangpu



a



b



INTERIOR OF ANTELOPE KIVA.

PL. XC. INTERIOR OF ANTELOPE KIVA.

- a.* Antelope priests spreading the mosaic upon the kiva floor.
- b.* Polihungwa outlining in black the symbols of the sand mosaic.

worked on the fourth white cloud, which he completed, and then filled in the third, while Sikanakpu took up the green band on the south. Shakhungwa began outlining in black again, surrounding first the fourth white cloud symbol, then the third red cloud symbol, the third white and the fifth white cloud symbols. Sikanakpu took up the east green band, while Sikangpu again worked on the west white band and continued filling in the white field between the green and yellow lightning symbols. He now worked on the north outside white field, while Shakhungwa worked on the east outside white field, and then Sikangpu, having stopped to rest awhile, now continued the north outside white field. At this point the white paint was exhausted and a boy was sent after more.

In the meantime Shakhungwa began outlining in black the various symbols (see Pl. XC), first on the north and then on the east between the white band and the white field, and then, without finishing these boundaries, he began a series of short black parallel bands extending outward from the north white band into the white field. Polihungwa now again ceased his work at the bahos and assisted in the making of the mosaic. Sikangpu took this opportunity to rest and lay down on the west side of the kiva. Polihungwa began working on the black dividing line on the east side between the red and white bands. The boy having returned with the fresh supply of white paint, Sikangpu began on the white outside field on the east side, while Sikanakpu worked at the black line on the west between the green and the red band. Sikangpu now finished the white field west of the yellow lightning symbol and then he and Polihungwa worked on the white outside field to the south, while Shakhungwa continued the black dividing line, now surrounding the yellow, and then the white lightning symbol. Polihungwa now relieved Shakhungwa of the bowl of black paint, surrounded in outline the red lightning symbol and then worked on the green. Polihungwa then went around on the north side and with the black finished the red lightning symbol, while Shakhungwa, seating himself on the south of the mosaic, filled in details in black on the green lightning symbol.

It being now about three o'clock, Namurziwa, who for some time had been resting on the floor, left the kiva for food.* Polihungwa then took from the meal tray a pinch of meal, which, with a quick motion of the thumb and first finger, he cast along the foot of the east wall. Namurziwa now returned with a bag from which he took three watermelons and some green onions and peppers, which he

*The following men worked at one time or another on the sand mosaic: Polihungwa, Shakhungwa, Sikanakpu, Namurziwa, Shakventiwa and Sikangpu.

handed to Polihungwa, who took them with him to a corner on the platform. To this beginning of the noonday meal were added now a tray of *piki*, a tray of *comiwiki* and a bowl containing a pinkish colored food made of boiled cornmeal. Upon handing the food to Polihungwa, Namurzwiwa stooped down and with his thumb and forefinger took up from the fireplace a pinch of ashes, upon which he spat and then, with a short, quick motion, cast it once to each of the four directions and then up the ladder.* He then joined Polihungwa and the boys on the banquette, where Shakhungwa and Sikangpu had already gone, and where all made a hurried meal. After eating a few moments, Sikangpu began on the west side of the sand mosaic, dividing the white band from the outside white field, while Shakhungwa did the same on the east and south.

This practically finished the sand picture, the making of which had consumed about four hours' time, it now being half-past three o'clock. The men had not worked long upon the picture until it became perfectly apparent that there was no general order of procedure. As each man seated himself on one side of one corner, he did the work which was nearest him and which caused the least inconvenience to his neighbor. This was made possible from the fact that they were provided with several sets of the same colored earths, so that when one had worked on a white cloud symbol, for instance, in one corner, he could take up the work on the neighboring green cloud and so not interfere with another priest who might be working in the center of the picture. It was also apparent that Shakhungwa was really the leading spirit in the making of the picture. Not only did he lead the way in marking out the symbols, but he assumed the leadership in the actual application of the colored earths and was constantly referred to by the other priests for advice. The earths used in the mosaic, with their individual names, were as follows: *Sika tūwa* (yellow sand), *Cohoninsakwa* (Cohonino green), *Pala oa* (red stone), *Qotca oa* (white stone). These earths had been provided for by Polihungwa, who also brought them into the kiva. At the conclusion of the construction of the mosaic, the paints were again emptied from the bowls into small cotton sacks by Sikangpu and were taken by Polihungwa to his house (see Pl. XCI).

In its finished condition (see Pl. XCII), the extreme measure-

*This performance is called *nawohchionani*, and is done after some special work, in this case undoubtedly the making of the sand mosaic, which is believed to have a special charm on the performer, or, for that matter, on any object which would have an evil influence if being brought in contact with any uninitiated. The junior author observed on several occasions in the Oraibi Snake ceremony that objects, before being handed or taken out of the Snake kiva, were thus discharmed. The same is done with springs from which the snake hunters drink. At the conclusion of every important Hopi ceremony all participants are discharmed by the chief priest.



PL. XCI. INTERIOR OF THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

- a.* Sikangpu tying up the paints at the conclusion of the laying of the sand mosaic.
- b.* Antelope priests engaged in fraternal smoking at the conclusion of the laying of the sand mosaic.



INTERIOR OF THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

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PL. XCII. ANTELOPE SAND MOSAIC.

For description of this mosaic see page 202.



ANTELOPE SAND MOSAIC.

ments of the mosaic were four feet and five inches in diameter from north to south, by five feet from east to west, while the outer edge of the white band measured three feet and seven inches by four feet and three inches; the border measured (*i. e.*, the four colored bands) five and a quarter inches in breadth. The cloud symbols averaged thirteen inches in length. The lightning symbols were nineteen and one-half inches in length and two and one-half inches in diameter, while the extreme border of the head of the lightning symbol—*i. e.*, from the tip of one horn to the other—was eight inches, and the diameter of the triangle composing the head was four and three-quarters inches. The black lines extending into the white field north of the mosaic proper were twenty-three in number, and they were from one to one and one-half inches in length. These lines symbolized the falling rain. Inasmuch as the cloud and lightning symbols were done by free-hand drawing, naturally there would be a slight variation for the measurements given for one symbol from those of another. Nor were the bands themselves of uniform diameter, although they were fairly regular, owing to the fact that they had been marked off by means of a string. As we were measuring the picture, just after its completion, we noticed that Shakhungwa in his outlining the cloud symbols in black had forgotten to complete the lower left-hand white symbol. On his attention being called to this fact he seemed grateful, as well as chagrined, and immediately filled it in with black. The mosaic in its finished condition made a handsome appearance in the dimly lighted kiva, the brightness of the colors being brought out especially prominent by the intense black of the narrow lines which surrounded each symbol or band.

As has been noted, while the sand mosaic was being constructed, the Antelope priest, Polihungwa, was occupied in the manufacture of a number of bahos. After he had completed the making of the nakwakwosis to be attached to the baho sticks, he finished five blunt-pointed shafts and one blunt-pointed shaft with a facet at the upper end, all of which were painted green except near the point, which he painted black. He now with a small stick took some honey into his mouth from a can and then spat or spurted the honey from his mouth upon the black points. He then made four additional sticks, five and one-quarter inches in length, with a blunt point, none of which were provided with a facet. These he painted black throughout their length. Polihungwa now left the kiva and soon returned with a sprig of green *Artimisia Frigida* (*kuña*). Resuming his work on the bahos, he took up a corn husk which he tore into two pieces, one of which—a strip of about an inch in width—he bent

at right angles near the center, placing in the fold some cornmeal, and then twisted several times the loose ends of the husk. He then broke off square the loose ends of the husk, thus forming a long narrow pyramidal-shaped packet called *mōciata*. Sikanakpu now left the kiva and soon returned, bringing with him his plume box and there assisting from time to time in the manufacture of the bahos when not otherwise engaged upon the sand painting. Polihungwa then cut a facet on two of the green black-pointed sticks, and taking up one with a facet and one without he fastened the two together, side by side, by means of several wrappings of a cotton string, about two-thirds of the way down on the length of the sticks toward the black point. Just under these wrappings which bound the two sticks together he placed the corn-husk packet, so that it was securely fastened to the two sticks, with its pointed end projecting upwards. To the other side of the two sticks he fastened an eagle breath feather, a turkey feather and a sprig of *kuña* and *maövi*. Over the sharp point of the corn-husk packet he fastened a nakwakwosi consisting of a three-inch cotton string, to the end of which was attached an eagle breath feather and a chat feather. Of these green or *sakwa* bahos he made four. He then took up the four black sticks, one after the other, and fastened to the upper or square end, by means of several wrappings of a cotton string, a turkey feather and a sprig of *kuña*, together with the small corn-husk packet, the upper and pointed end of which extended beyond the end of the stick. Around this corn-husk packet and to the middle, after the manner previously described, he fastened an eagle nakwakwosi. Of these black bahos or *chochopiata* he made four. He next made eight nakwakwosis which he stained red, and six which remained white. Next he made four of the so-called four-direction bahos, each five inches in length, and to each of which he attached two nakwakwosis. These bahos consisted of a single corticated cottonwood branch about four inches in length, to the upper end of which, at an interval of about an inch, were fastened two nakwakwosis. The shafts were painted green. These bahos were the same as were made on the preceding morning, another set being made on the following day and again on the day following that. These are the bahos which were taken into the fields by the priests, the first one leaving the kiva going to the north, the second to the west, the third to the south and the fourth to the east. These bahos having been finished, Polihungwa left the kiva and soon returned with a bundle of twenty or thirty slender cottonwood boughs about three feet in length. He sat down on the east side of the platform and began decorticating the boughs. While he was engaged in this

operation Namurztiwa left the kiva for a moment, and on his return put on his shirt and waited at the side of Polihungwa. The latter took a small bag from a niche in the kiva wall and going over to the center of the floor filled the bag about half full with meal from the tray, and then he took up a double green baho, one *pühtavi* and a vessel similar to the *mongwikurus* but somewhat larger. Polihungwa then addressed Namurztiwa and handed him the meal, the bahos, etc. He answered "*Owe*" (Yes) and left the kiva.

He was followed as he went along the trail to the west of Mishongnovi, where, at the foot of the mesa, he came to the shrine of Kohkangwuhti (the Spider Woman). Here he took the nakwakwosis and some meal in his hand, and, holding them close to his lips, uttered the following short prayer: "You! have pity on us. Keep away the storms. Send us rain. Keep sickness from us. May we be strong. May we be happy." He then deposited the nakwakwosi, consisting of an eagle and a chat feather, sprinkled it with meal four times, and then deposited his baho. He now filled the *mongwikuru* and returned to the kiva.

In the meantime Polihungwa had resumed decorticating the cottonwood boughs. Ceasing in his work for a moment, he addressed the three boys, who now went out entirely naked, carrying with them under their arms their old loin cloths. Soon one of the boys returned empty handed, while the two others brought in, wrapped in their loin cloths, a kind of yellowish, granulated, shally clay. They were told by the chief to put it down on the platform in a pile to the west of the ladder. One of the boys then went out after water, while the other began to reduce the clay by pounding and kneading it with a stone hammer. The other boy now returned with the water, which was added a little at a time to the clay, and both began to knead and work over the mass. Having kneaded the clay sufficiently, the three boys left the kiva. It was now about a quarter of three o'clock, and the other priests, as has been described, were still at work on the sand mosaic. Polihungwa here left the kiva, taking with him fourteen of the decorticated boughs, which he deposited on the kiva hatchway, presumably, that they might be dried out by the rays of the afternoon sun, and soon returned with a fresh bag of native tobacco, from which he filled a pipe, and lighting it with a coal which one of the boys now brought in, he sat down to the northeast of the fireplace and smoked for some minutes in silence. Having finished his smoke, he brought into the kiva the decorticated shafts which had been drying on the outside, and, after carefully straightening each one of them out by working them back and forth through his two hands, he carefully tied

them in a bundle by wrapping a string around them spirally from end to end and hung them up on a peg on the wall.

Sikangpu now took a small red medicine bowl which he half filled with water from a jar brought in by Sikanakpu, and, taking the medicine bowl with him and sitting down near the fireplace, he filled a pipe with native tobacco, lighted it with a coal, began stirring the water in the bowl with an aspergil (*makwanpi*), and smoked into the bowl with his mouth close to the water. After smoking into the bowl for some time he laid aside the pipe and spat into the bowl. Again he stirred the water with the aspergil, which he then laid across the mouth of the jar. He now resumed smoking, blowing puffs of smoke in the direction of the mosaic. He did this four times, remaining in his sitting posture on the west side of the mosaic and at the southwest corner.

Polihungwa now began fashioning with his hands from the clay which the boys had kneaded small conical pedestals about an inch and a half in diameter at the base and about two inches in height. Of these he made twenty-one. Sikanakpu, still maintaining his sitting posture at the southwest corner of the kiva, now took up the aspergil and asperged four times toward the mosaic and then deposited the bowl at the southwest corner of the sand picture. This was the beginning of the erection of the altar, which was now rapidly pushed forward. Namurztiwa had long since returned, bringing with him a *mongwikuru* containing water and an armful of cottonwood boughs still retaining their twigs and leaves. These he had placed to the east of the sand picture in the northeast corner of the kiva. Sikanakpu now selected from the bunch a single stem about sixteen inches in length and with it made a wreath which he placed under the medicine bowl. The medicine bowl itself, it may be here remarked, was dull reddish in color without visible decoration, about six inches in diameter and was not provided with a handle. On inquiring of the priest if this was the original bowl for this ceremony, the reply was that the flat, squarish bowl with a rain cloud terrace on each side, which is the usual medicine bowl of Hopi ceremonies, had probably long ago been broken and replaced by this more simple bowl. At any rate, this was the only medicine bowl which he, the chief priest, had ever known for this ceremony. Polihungwa now began to place in the small clay pedestals which he had just finished making the uprights (*ngölöshoyas*, crooks), which he now deposited on two sides of the sand picture. After having placed them in position on the outer white earth border of the mosaic and divided in two single rows with twelve on the east side and eleven on the west side of the sand

picture, it was manifest that the first two of the row (*i. e.*, those toward the south) bore a superficial resemblance to a reed arrow, and, in fact, they were spoken of as arrows and as *kalehtakas*, warriors or watchers, by the priests. They were undecorated and about seven inches from the top, as they were placed in the upright position, there was a short piece of cotton string, at the end of which was a trace of two turkey feathers. These red arrows were twenty-one inches in length. Of the remaining uprights, eight were long *chochopiata*, black in color and about fifteen inches high. These *chochopiata* did not differ materially from the ordinary black *baho* which has already been described. Near the upper end was the corn husk packet, an eagle and a turkey feather and an eagle feather *nakwakwosi*, together with a remnant of a sprig of *kuña*. The remaining uprights, fifteen in number, were or had been crooks, although from all of them the bent portion had been broken and at first sight they were merely time-stained, straight shafts. These varied from twenty-one to twenty-three inches in length, each one having a red-stained *nakwakwosi* just below the bend of the crook. All of these crooks were painted black. The attention of the priest being called to the fact that none of the so-called crooks terminated in a bend, he explained that it was on account of the great age and that they had suffered from repeated handling. Concerning the meaning of the uprights, it was explained by Polihungwa that collectively they represented men of the Fraternity, that the crooks represented old men bent with age, and that the crook also was a symbol of life, and that the reeds or arrows were the *kalehtakas* or warriors here serving as watchers; hence their position, one each at the head of the line. Worthy of note might also be the fact—undoubtedly a coincidence—that the total number of uprights exactly equaled the number of Antelope men participating in this ceremony, twenty-one.

It was now nearly six o'clock. The men gradually began to desert the kiva for various purposes, first Sikangpu, who took with him the four eagle feathers which had been used earlier in the day in laying off the symbols of the sand field, and which had been wrapped together with the string by Polihungwa. These he returned to his house. He at once returned to the kiva and began sweeping the floor carefully and otherwise putting it in a neat and tidy condition, the boys carrying out the refuse. Two of the boys, Lataya and Nuwawa, entered the kiva, each bringing a large bunch of reeds (*pahkavi*) about six feet in length and deposited them near the wall on the east side of the kiva. These they had obtained about three miles north of the village.

As has been stated, the snake hunt of this day was to the east (see Pl. XCIII), this being the fourth ceremonial hunt. Immediately on descending the trail on the east of the village the Snake priests, twenty in number, divided into three parties, one of which went to the Pisaphelve Spring (see Pl. XCIV). Here they stood in a circle around the spring until Nakwayeshwa, who had come a little later, descended to the edge of the water, deposited a nakwakwosi, sprinkled cornmeal on the water and flipped the water in the four directions. Then he joined his companions, who now descended to the edge of the water and repeated the same performance. Most of them also drank from the spring. Then they scattered out in various directions toward the east, beginning to hunt. Another group went to the Hontūpovi Spring a few hundred yards to the west of the first spring and enacted exactly the same performance. Still another group led by Lomanakshu now arrived at the Pisaphelve Spring, where they also went through the observance just noted. All these parties then scattered out and the hunt began.

At five minutes after seven the Snake priests returned from the last day's ceremonial hunt. Depositing their digging sticks and rabbit sticks on the kiva hatchway, they entered the kiva carrying with them two rabbits and several bags, which evidently contained snakes. The bags were placed as usual to the east of the snake paraphernalia, whereupon they all except the boys sat down in a semi-circle about the hearth and began smoking. The chief filled a pipe with native tobacco and the others made cigarettes with corn husks or American paper. After smoking for some minutes and exchanging occasional terms of relationship, they retired and lounged about in different parts of the kiva, waiting for one or two of their number who were late. They now came in bearing a sack which, judging from its bulging sides, was well filled. This was placed by the side of the other sacks, whereupon the bearer filled his mouth with water from a can standing in the corner of the kiva, and, as the others had done who had handled snakes that day, went on the outside of the kiva, and, filling his hands with water from his mouth, washed his hands and face. There now occurred a long argument concerning a question which as yet had not been decided in our favor, viz., whether we were to see the transfer of the snakes from the bags to the receptacles or not. During this conversation between Lomanakshu and the leading priests and ourselves, the following speech was made by old blind Homiwushyoma, which, on account of its interest, merits being reproduced as nearly verbatim as possible:

Uma kush ka achatotani. Anchaa uma yang itamui yungya.



PL. XCIII. FOURTH DAY'S CEREMONIAL SNAKE HUNT.

- a.* Snake priests on emerging from the kiva.
- b.* Snake priests passing through the village.
- c.* Snake priests descending from Mishongnovi by the east trail.
- d.* Snake priests nearing Bisahpelve spring.



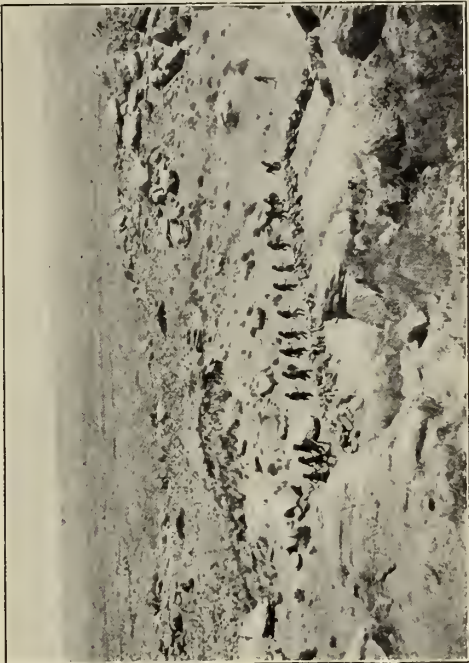
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b

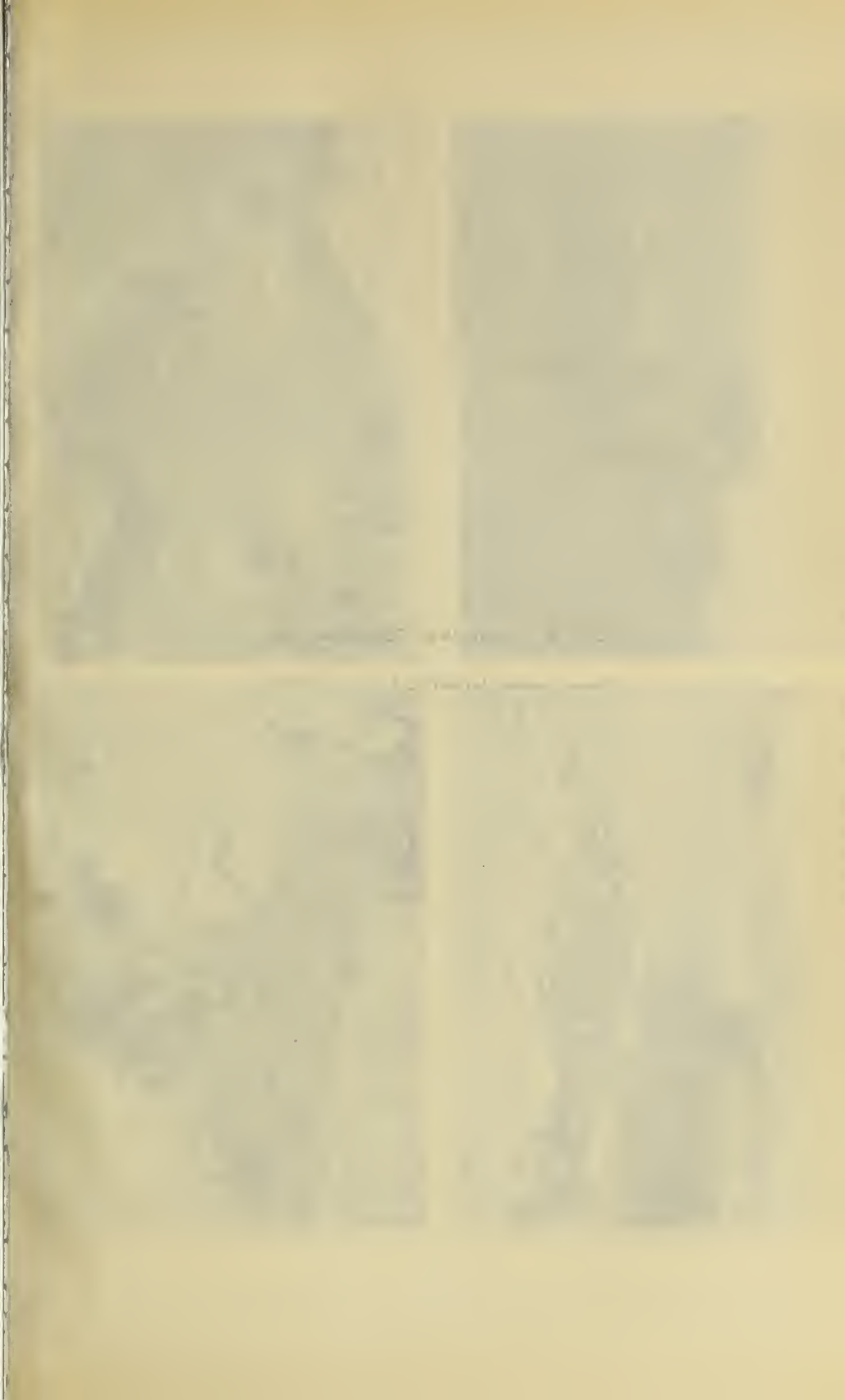


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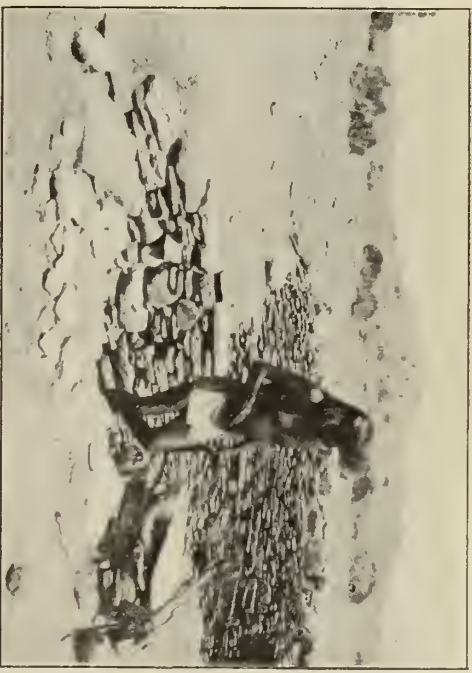
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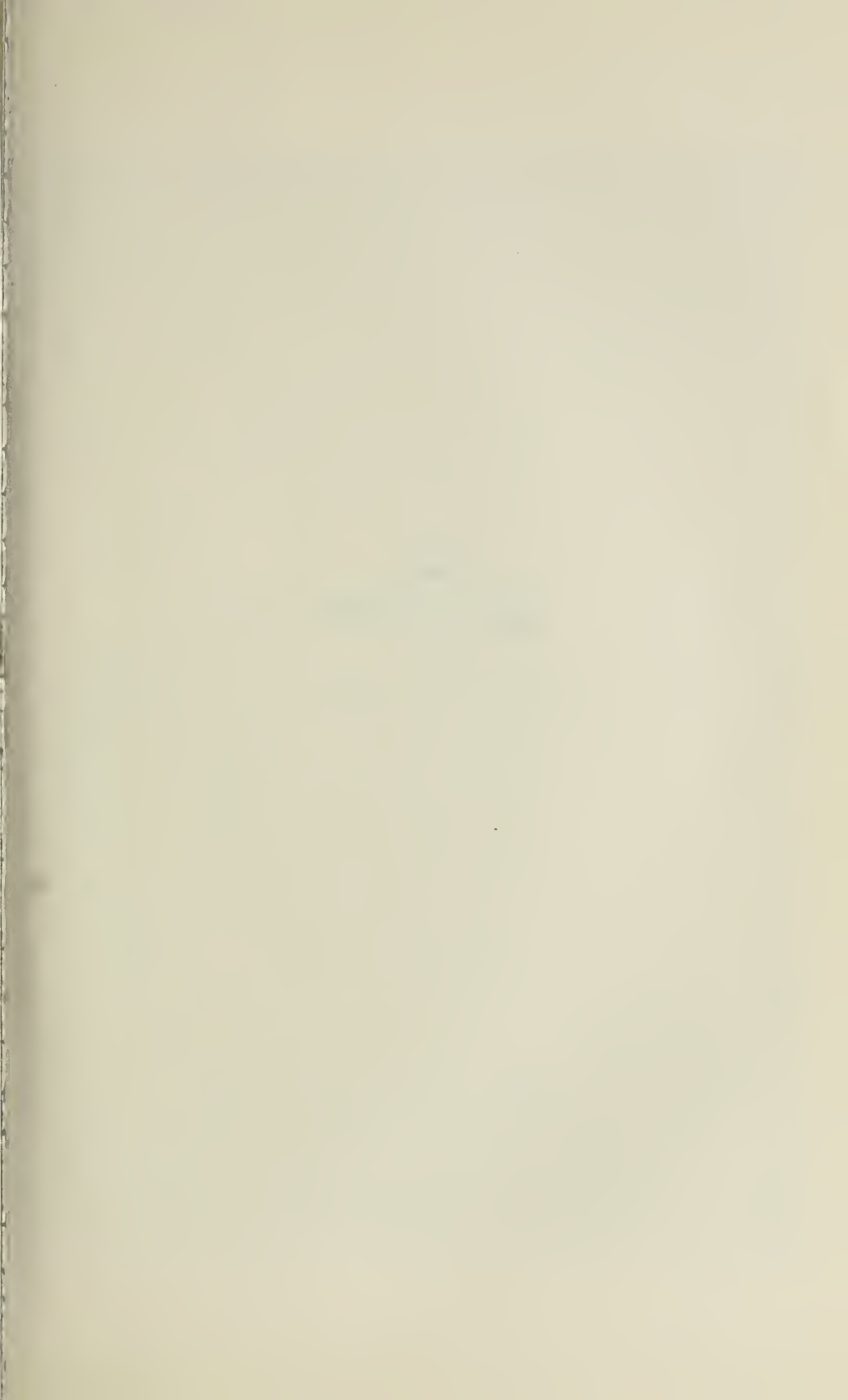
FOURTH CEREMONIAL SNAKE HUNT.



PL. XCIV. FOURTH DAY'S CEREMONIAL HUNT.

Snake priests depositing bahos in shrines.







SNAKE PRIESTS ASLEEP ON THE ROOF OF THE SQUARE MAY.

PL. XCVI. SNAKE PRIESTS ASLEEP ON ROOF OF SNAKE KIVA.

Snake priests asleep on the roof of the Snake kiva (a flashlight picture in the open air at three o'clock in the morning).

Itam anchaa yep, shúpyakakango lulomat itáhkac̄i tūtūkaowani. Anchaa, yokwaqöȫ yan itahnatwanya angyoñwaqöȫ. Put hak ang-nihte, angpocwaqöȫ, puu itáhtim angñöñshani. Owi itam yep shuan kaátchatotani: pai ita yep itahkac̄i tūtūkaowani, ikwáchimui. Owi anchaa uma yep ima tcūata, itanaya, pai anchaa nalt aoyurika. Pai akpānani Washington uma it totobenit tawiqöȫ. Anchaa ánqaqȫ itamui lamakac̄it towat tonatyaotani.

A free rendering of which is as follows: "Now, you must not tell a falsehood. All right, you have come in here with us. We here unitedly (of one mind) are holding on to our good manner of living. Yes, if it rains our crops will sprout, will grow and yield plenty, and our children will then eat. Yes, we also likewise do not tell falsehoods here. Our friends, we have (hold on to) our life (the term 'life,' *kac̄i*, is here taken in the comprehensive sense of manner of living, pertaining to all phases of life). Now, yes (all right), you alone are beholding here these snakes, our fathers. Yes, write to Washington to keep this writing. And also let it be his purpose that a good life may be unto us."

It was finally decided that the snakes would not be transferred this night owing to the somewhat crowded condition of the jars, but that it would be done the first thing in the morning, and that from now on we were to see the transfers, and it may be stated here that, although up to this time we had had free access to the kivas at all times, yet from now on we were not only to be given permission to remain during the transfer, but we were made to feel that we were welcome guests.

It was now nearly ten o'clock. Several of the Snake priests hurried out after food, for they had not yet eaten their supper. After they had eaten their evening meal they again indulged for a few moments in fraternal smoking, and, as usual, slept in or on (see Pl. XCVI) the kiva, during the night.

After the crooks had been erected, first the row on the west side and then the row on the east side, the chief priest took up one of the *tiponis*, both of which had been lying on the floor of the kiva near the banquette, and placed it at the northwest corner of the mosaic, its base being slightly embedded in the outer white field. The second *tiponi* was placed in a corresponding position on the northeast corner of the mosaic. As both *tiponis* were practically alike, the description of one will suffice. Its base was about ten inches in length by about three in diameter, and cylindrical in shape. It was wrapped with many coils of one-half-inch-wide buckskin stained red. On the bottom of the base were two black lines, inter-

secting at right angles, extending the entire width of the surface. From the upper extremity of the base projected many very long eagle tail feathers, arranged in a circle, and from the tip of each feather there hung an eagle breast feather (*nakwakwosi*) stained red. Within the circle of eagle tail feathers and entirely concealed by them was a handsome and finely polished jasper celt, yellow in color, and about ten inches in length. The entire *tiponi* measured twenty-seven inches in length from its base to the tip of the circle of feathers. He then took up the *mongwikurus* and placed them on the south white field at the base of the mosaic, first sprinkling the field with meal, beginning on the west side. This side of the mosaic was now entirely occupied by the medicine bowl with the *makwanpi* or aspergil resting in a cottonwood wreath on the southwest corner, with the fourth *mongwikuru* on the southeast corner and the other three *mongwikurus* placed at regular intervals between these two objects. (See Pl. XCV.) Sikanakpu now took up with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand a very small portion of meal from the sacred meal tray and sprinkled it here and there over the entire mosaic. He then took up another pinch of meal and breathing a prayer on it, sprinkled the *tiponis*, standing on the center of the north side. He then removed all objects from the north banquette, which he gently swept with a short hand-broom. He then took up the jar (*batni*) which Polihungwa had brought into the kiva on that afternoon along with the medicine bowl and which up till now had been standing on the floor of the kiva in the northeast corner. He then placed the jar on the center of the banquette immediately behind the second or reserved *natsi*, which he now placed lengthwise on the north white field of the mosaic and midway between the two *tiponis*. Turning now to the eastern side of the kiva, he took up two bunches of reeds about eight feet in height and two bunches of cottonwood boughs about three feet in height. Of these he placed one bunch of the reeds and one of the boughs so that it rested on the floor of the kiva and reclined against the banquette and the north wall of the kiva just behind and a little to the left of the *tiponi* in the northwest corner of the mosaic. The other two bunches of reeds and cottonwood boughs he sat up against the banquette and the wall of the kiva in a corresponding position east of the northeast *tiponi*. The tray containing the sacred meal and one *nakwakwosi* was now moved up closer to the mosaic and had a position just behind and about a foot from the second *mongwikuru*. The other *bahos* had been placed in an Oraibi tray and were placed by the side of the first tray and just behind the medicine tray. The erection of the altar and the accompany-

PL. XCV. INTERIOR OF ANTELOPE KIVA.

The completed Antelope altar with *tiponis*, medicine bowl, *mongwikurus*, etc., in proper position.

Polihungwa, the Antelope priest, is engaged in the manufacture of bahos.



ing ceremonial objects was now complete. The relative position of all the objects to one another and to the mosaic may be seen by reference to Pl. XCV, which shows the plan of the kiva at this time. It was now nearly eleven o'clock. Some of the young priests went out after food, which was silently partaken of by the priests on the platform, where they rested or slept in preparation for the very interesting ceremonial which was to take place within a few hours upon the following morning.

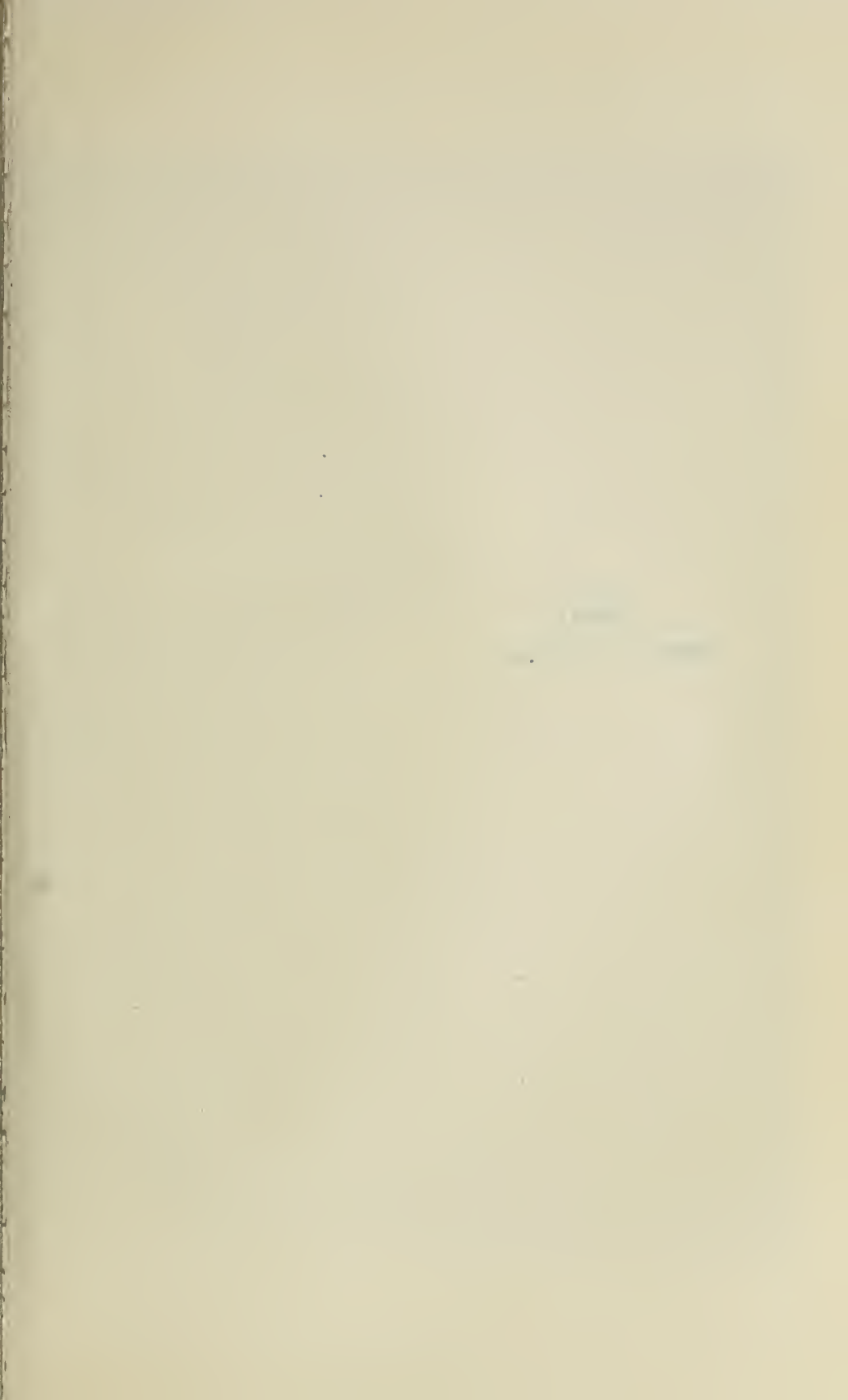
SIXTH DAY (SHUSHKAHIMU, ONCE NOT ANYTHING), AUGUST 18.

After having rested for less than four hours the priests began preparation for the early morning ceremony. Polihungwa, at about twenty minutes of four in the morning, left the kiva and soon returned with a young maiden (*mana*) about fourteen years of age, named Kashnimka, a member of the Bear clan, who was soon to enact the part of the Antelope Maid in the coming dramatization. No special reason was learned why she assumed this position in the dramatization ceremony.

Shortly after her arrival with Polihungwa, Lomanakshu, carrying a snake bag and a whip, came in accompanied by Choshnimitiwa, a young Snake priest about fifteen years of age and a member of the Eagle clan, who was in the coming dramatization to enact the part of the Snake youth. Polihungwa now began to decorate the body of the *mana*, who sat down on the platform to the east of the ladder, Polihungwa standing in front of her. Choshnimitiwa sat down on the platform on the west side of the ladder, Lomanakshu working in front of him. Polihungwa first removed the blanket from the *mana*, and from a bowl containing thin white-earth liquid paint he first painted a broad band around each wrist extending down as far as the knuckles. He then painted a broad white band around her ankles carrying the color down on the foot as far as the beginning of the toes. Over her ankles he now placed a pair of katchina ankle bands, which he tied in front. He then asked her to stand up, when he removed her regulation blue blanket, and over her regular blue dress he put on the large ceremonial robe *to-i-hi*, fastening it over the left shoulder. He then drew the edges of one side of it, squaring it in front of her and fastened it in position with a cotton string which he tied behind her. A large white knotted or bridal belt (*ñokwōkwāwa*) was passed around her body once and tied on the left side just under her arms, with the knotted strands hanging down on that side of her body. Many strands of shell and turquoise beads were then placed over her neck and a

blue yarn bandoleer was tied on each arm partly hiding the upper white paint band. He next took a bowl containing a liquid black paint and with it colored the chin black from the mouth to the lower border of the ears, carrying the paint downward only to the curve of the jaw. He then took a piece of yucca leaf and daubed it in the liquid paint and passed it around over the lower tip of the upper lip from the lower border of one ear to the other, thus restricting and making more prominent the blackened lower part of the face. He next loosened her hair whorls, as ordinarily worn by the *manas*, and tied her hair loosely behind at her neck with a string. To the front locks he tied a *nakwakwosi*. She was now ready for the ceremony, sitting down to await the completion of the costuming of Choshnimitiwa.

Lomanakshu also had a bowl with white liquid paint (kaolin), and with it he painted Choshnimitiwa's arm, from the elbow to the wrist, a solid band of white. He also painted each breast from the corner of the breast-bone to the summit of the shoulder, and from there down to near the base of the breast-bone, thus forming a sort of triangle on each breast, the lower corners of which were continued by two white lines down to the level of the nipples. The shoulder corner of the triangle was also extended down on the arm nearly to the elbow by means of two parallel white lines at a distance of about an inch. He next painted the face black from the tip of the upper lip back to the lower border of the ears down to the beginning of the neck, which he outlined and vivified by using a yucca leaf, as did Polihungwa. About the knees he drew two bands around the legs and painted the lower leg also white from about the middle to the toes of the feet. In his hair he fastened a *nakwakwosi* and a bunch of eagle breast feathers, and around his neck he placed many strands of beads. About the waist was passed an ordinary *kacina* kilt which was fastened on the right side, and over the upper border of this was placed the regular *kacina* sash, which was tied in a single knot on the right side, the fringed ends hanging down nearly to the ground. To the right wrist he fastened a strand of blue yarn. Lomanakshu now took from the bag which he had brought in with him when he entered the kiva with Choshnimitiwa, and which he had deposited near the *tiponi*, a snake about two feet long which he handed to Choshnimitiwa and led him to the back of the kiva, where he also handed him the northwest corner *tiponi*. With the snake held by its middle in his right hand, which dropped by his side, and with the *tiponi* held by its base in his left hand, which was drawn up in front of his body, and with the long feathers of the *tiponi* extending up to his shoulders, Choshnimitiwa took his place at the back of and a little to





PL. XCVII. THE SINGING OF THE TRADITIONAL SONGS BY THE ANTELOPE PRIESTS.

Sitting around the mosaic are the Antelope priests together with Lomának-shu, the chief Snake priest.

At the back of the mosaic and near the wall of the kiva stand the Antelope maid and the Snake boy, the former holding in her hands the *batni*, with vines and cornstalks; the latter holding in his left hand the Antelope *tiponi* and a rattlesnake in his right.

the west of the middle of the mosaic, standing against the banquette. In the meantime Polihungwa had led the *mana* to the rear of the kiva by the east side, where he handed her the *butni* containing corn stalks, beans, melon vines, etc., which she clasped in front of her with both hands, and took a place by the side of and to the east of Choshnimitwa. The eight Antelope priests present, together with Lomanakshu, Chief Snake priest, now assumed a sitting posture on the lower side of the sand mosaic in the form of a semicircle, the priests at each end facing each other across the mosaic. In addition, old blind Qōmahoiniwa took up a position on the main floor of the kiva behind the fireplace, near the ladder, on the west side. The relative position of the priests, together with the position of the Snake youth and Antelope maid, may be seen in Pl. XCVII). For a few moments there was no sound heard in the kiva, when, without warning, Polihungwa began in a low voice and in a rapid manner a prayer, a free rendering of which is somewhat as follows:

Pai ita hahlaiḱahḱango, shūkaōḱahḱango yep pawasionayani. Pai ima nananiiwok oomawhtui itamui okwatotvee, yang tūchkwawakae itanatwanya ang balaiya angnankwushani. Puu itch uyi ang-póciṽaḱōḱ, itahtim angnōnōshani, puu ḱyagae itam tuwat angnónowani; puu itam angḱyayaqḱe. Puu pam pánḱango angnatūkvcinani, puu itam put ang chowalayani; puu itahki aoyani. Put ita ahpi ang-nonowaḱahḱang ahpi yeshni. Owi ita hahlaiḱahḱango, ḱkaōḱahḱango passíonayani.

[Now we joyfully and encouraged are going to perform a ceremony here. May these clouds from the four world quarters have pity on us! May the rain-water meander through our fields and our crops! And then the corn, quickly having seeds, our children will eat; and they being satisfied we shall also eat and be satisfied. (This refers, it seems, to the eating of the corn ears, and especially roasting ears, in the fields, to which time the people generally anxiously look forward.) And then after that it shall mature and we shall gather it in and put it up in our houses, and after that we shall eat and live on it. Therefore we are happy, and being strong shall perform this ceremony.]

At its conclusion all answered "*Anchaa!*" Sikanakpu now rises at the southeast corner of the mosaic and taking meal from the tray sprinkles slightly over the mosaic. Each priest then takes up some object in his right hand with which to beat time to the singing; Lomanakshu used the snake whip which he had brought with him, Polihungwa and one or two others an eagle feather, while the remaining priests had each one of the uprights which had been removed from

the clay pedestals for this purpose. They were now ready to begin the first of the eight traditional songs, sung on this and the following three mornings, and which, taken collectively, form certainly the most beautiful incident in the entire Snake and Antelope ceremonies. Throughout these four early morning presentations there was an utter absence of the spectacular. There was always present a deep and earnest feeling which rendered the exercises extremely impressive. Such a picture as this, representing as it does the dramatization of an event in a myth, with the boy and girl dressed in picturesque garments in the background, with the beautifully colored mosaic, with its accompanying crooks and other objects of the altar surrounded by nearly naked men in a sitting posture with their black, glossy hair falling loosely over their sinewy backs, with old blind Qōmahoniwa sitting alone by the hearth, keeping time by beating an eagle feather and slowly swaying his body and entering into the ceremony to the best of his ability, joining in the song now and then, all uttering their fervent "*Anchaa*," the deep gloom of the kiva, heightened by much smoke from the tobacco, and later intensified by the first white light of the east seen faintly overhead through the narrow kiva hatchway, all combined to make a picture never to be forgotten. It was about 4.45 A. M. when the singing commenced.

First Song. This is a low and somewhat monotonous chant not without beauty. As the song increases in volume, owing to the confidence of the priests, the youth and girl are seen to sway gradually backwards and forwards, keeping time to the song with a motion of their bodies. During the singing all had a crook or stick to beat time with except the man on the extreme west side, who beat time with the extra *nalsi*.

Second Song. The Snake youth and Antelope *mana* are now asked by Polihungwa to keep better time with the singing, to sway their bodies and move the objects in their hands in unison with the time. Sikangpu then arose and going to the platform put on his shirt and left the kiva; in a moment he returned, bringing with him a cotton bag from which he took a large pipe or cloud blower (*omawtapi*) which he put down behind the Antelope chief, who was sitting just to the east of Polihungwa. He then removed his shirt and resumed his position in the circle.

Third Song. During the singing of this song Naphoiniwa dropped out of his place around the mosaic and taking a seat near the fireplace lighted a pipe and smoked a few minutes and then returned to his place in the circle. Shokhungwa then retired to the side of the hearth and smoked a moment or so. In the meantime Naphoiniwa lighted a fire

on the hearth, the sticks for which had been prepared before the singing began.

Fourth Song. Polihungwa now left the circle and turning around faced the fire, where he lighted the larger cloud blower. After the pipe had been well lighted he passed in a sinistral circuit to the rear of the sand mosaic, where he stooped down over the falling rain symbols and placing the large end of the pipe in his mouth forced great clouds of smoke from the smaller end upon the symbols. He then squatted down on the west side of the picture, then on the south, and then on the east, forcing smoke upon the colored cloud symbols and then also into the medicine bowl. By a curious coincidence, rain clouds had been gathering in various directions overhead, and while they were singing this song which related to the four colored clouds, and asking them to bring rain, the patter of rain was distinctly heard outside on the kiva hatchway.

Polihungwa, having finished the ceremonial circuit and returning to the fireplace, removed the ashes from the pipe upon a corn husk and restored the pipe to the cotton bag and resumed his place in the circle. Remaining seated for a moment, he arose, and, taking up a tray, sprinkled corn pollen (*talassi*) upon the heads of the Snake youth and the Antelope *mana*. He now sprinkled pollen into the medicine bowl and into each of the four *mongwikurus*, then on the north, upon each cloud symbol and each lightning symbol on the sand mosaic, and then up the hatchway, returning to his accustomed position. Naphoiniwa again returned to the hearth and rekindled the fire, lighted a pipe with a burning brand and smoked. Lomanakshu now left his place, taking up a handful of yellow pollen, and passing around to the rear of the kiva by a sinistral circuit, he sprinkled first on the heads of the Snake youth and the Antelope *mana*, then into the medicine bowl and into each of the *mongwikurus* and then upward toward the kiva hatchway.

Fifth Song. Rather slow. Shakhungwa, who had commenced smoking at the fireplace shortly before the previous song was ended, continued to smoke during this song. The old blind man joined heartily in this song.

Sixth Song. The priest now retired from the circle and lighted an ordinary pipe filled with native tobacco, blew the smoke on the sand mosaic and four puffs into the medicine bowl and one puff each into each of the *mongwikurus*. Naphoiniwa now retired to the side of the hearth, where he lighted a pipe and blew four puffs of smoke into the medicine bowl and then handed the pipe to Lomanakshu, who also smoked a few puffs on the medicine bowl and handed the

pipe to the Antelope priest, who, simply turning around in his seat, having already resumed his position in the circle, cleaned the ashes from the pipe. Sikangpu now took a seat at the fireplace and lighted a pipe and then handed it to Naphoiniwa, who finished the pipe, laid it down and resumed his position.

Seventh Song. Sikanakpu now took up the aspergil from the medicine bowl and asperged over the sand mosaic. Shakhungwa then got up, took his clothes under his arm and left the kiva.

The Antelope priest now left his position and going to the Antelope *mana* took from her the *batni*, which he restored to its position on the banquette, while Lomanakshu took from the Snake youth the *tiponi* and replaced it in its accustomed place at the corner of the sand mosaic, and then relieved the youth of the snake and placed it in the sack. All sprinkled sacred meal on the sand mosaic.

Both the Snake and Antelope priests with their charges then retired to the forward end of the kiva near the ladder, where they began removing the ceremonial clothing and the marks of the paint from the youth and *mana* respectively. Sikangpu passed to the Snake priest moistened sand, with which he removed the paint from his legs and arms.

Eighth Song. (Most of the men standing.) During this song reference is made to each of the four colored cloud symbols of the mosaic, while the priests in the circle cast pinches of sand on each cloud as it is mentioned. At the conclusion of the song all say "*Anchaa.*" All sprinkled meal on the mosaic again and some commenced to smoke around the fireplace. Polihungwa, Lomanakshu, the asperger and one other man each uttered a prayer. The Snake youth now threw over his shoulder his blanket and took up a position on the west side of the kiva. After the ceremonial paraphernalia had been removed from the *mana* a gourd was handed to her from which she filled her mouth with water, which she then emptied into her hands and washed her face. The *mana* now took a pinch of meal from the medicine tray, sprinkled a little on the mosaic and then, stooping down over the fireplace, she took a pinch of ashes, and, making a circular motion, ended by casting a pinch of it up the kiva ladder. The nakwakwosi, which had been removed from her hair while she was disrobing, was then replaced and she left the kiva for her home. The Snake youth also left the kiva, returning to the Snake kiva.

In the meantime the priests had gathered informally about the hearth and were engaged in chatting and in fraternal smoking, exchanging terms of relationship. The Antelope priest now began

the preparation of certain bahos, which were to be used during the day, taking down the bundle of decorticated sticks, which he had suspended from a peg in the wall. Placing some meal in a bag, he took one of the nakwakwosis and one of the bahos, which consisted of a single stick, to which, near the upper end, were attached two nakwakwosis, into a bag and prayed over them and gave them to Lomawungyai, who deposited them east of Mishongnovi near the Walpi trail near some bush; this is generally done when the offerings are not deposited in a special shrine. In this case the man was going to look after his crop and the chief priest sent an offering along, which is often done. The Antelope priest again uttered a prayer and took up four nakwakwosis and four single green bahos with two nakwakwosis attached, one of each of which he gave to each of four priests, two of whom now enter the kiva, whereupon they left the kiva, one of them going to the north, one to the west, one to the south, and one to the east, where each deposited his offerings in one of the four world quarters. These offerings to the four world quarters should all be borne by Antelope priests, but owing to the fact that on this morning it was not convenient, the places of two of them were taken by Snake priests. Anyone may be sent and the offerings are deposited anywhere just so that the directions from the villages are observed. Usually, however, they are deposited near some bush or bunch of grass or herbs.

During this act on the part of the chief priest the assistant Antelope priest had continued the making of the bahos, working on two sets of four each of some prayer offerings which were to serve for a similar ceremony on the morrow. Lomanakshu now took up his bag containing the snake and his snake whip and returned to the Snake kiva. It was then half-past seven o'clock.

Although the ceremony was concluded, we remained in the Antelope kiva for a few minutes longer. The priests were working or sitting about the fire and smoking and talking over the events of the early morning. It was readily apparent that all labored under great emotion, and as they discussed the varying themes of the morning ceremony, and especially as they dwelt upon the fact that their prayers for rain had apparently been answered in such an auspicious manner, two of the older priests gave way to violent sobbing, in which the element of joy no doubt predominated.

On entering the Snake kiva, it now being ten minutes of eight, we found a number of priests engaged in fraternal smoking about the hearth. Luke and Choshnimtiwa now left the kiva and returned in a few minutes, Luke bearing a large earthenware bowl about a foot

and a half in diameter, while Choshnimtiwa carried a large earthenware water bottle similar to the one already described. Both of these vessels had been punctured near the center, and the two priests now fitted to these apertures corn-cob stoppers. In the meantime two of the small boys had extended the sand field where now Luke inverted his bowl on the sand field in front of the wooden box, while Choshnimtiwa placed the water bowl in front of another similar snake receptacle. The other priests continuing smoking in the circle as before and apparently taking no notice of what was going on, Luke now stepped around behind the snake box, passing as he did so in a sinistral circuit behind the snake whips, and began feeling over the snake bags which had been there deposited on their return from the hunt on the preceding day. Choshnimtiwa now removed the stopper from the big jar, while Luke, selecting one of the largest of the bags, removed a string from about the neck and laying it flat on the floor gently shook it by taking hold of it close to the corners. A fairly large-sized rattlesnake glided out from the open mouth, and Choshnimtiwa with an extremely rapid motion seized the snake about three inches behind its head and thrust it, head forward, into the hole of the jar, and so forced its entire body in, passing one hand back behind the other. He then placed his hand over the hole while Luke began examining the other bags, apparently looking for other rattlesnakes. Another one was finally located and it was transferred as has just been described, whereupon, it being discovered upon examination that there were no additional rattlesnakes, Choshnimtiwa placed the corn-cob stopper in the hole. Luke then opened two other bags in succession and from each of them a great bull-snake glided out, when Choshnimtiwa picked it up in the same manner that he had picked up the rattlesnake, and removing the stopper from the water jar, thrust them in one after the other, head first. Choshnimtiwa then took a sprig of *kuña* (*Artemisia Frigida*), which he found lying at the rear of the kiva, and coming to the front of the kiva, filled his mouth with water, when he ascended the ladder and facing the east spurted water in his hands and washed them.

As we were leaving for breakfast, at a quarter past eight, we noticed in descending the trail Shakhungwa at the foot of the mesa on the east side where he sat down, deposited a nakwakwosi upon which he sprinkled meal toward the village and went on to his field, as near as could be ascertained.

No ceremonies were enacted in either the Snake or Antelope kivas during the remainder of this day. Both kivas were visited, however, from time to time. In the Antelope kiva Polihungwa, Sikangpu

and Sikanakpu were engaged in carding and spinning cotton for the manufacture of various bahos and nakwakwosis.

At about half-past four in the afternoon Lomanakshu began placing the Snake kiva in order, cleaning it and sweeping it. Notwithstanding the fact that the fourth and final ceremonial hunt to the fourth world quarter had ended on the previous day, yet, certain of the priests spent this day in hunting in the plains below the village, although the hunt on this day does not form a prescribed part of the ceremony and no particular quarter is selected. It seemed that five of the men had been out early in the afternoon of this day unobserved and they now returned at about five o'clock, coming up over the trail at the southeast of the village. They dropped their digging sticks and rabbit sticks as usual at the kiva hatchway, and entering deposited the bags east of the sack of snake whips. Lomanakshu at once sat down to the east of the fireplace, removed his shirt and began smoking. Luke, who seemed to have been the leader of this particular hunt, now passed his hands over the bags and located the rattlesnakes, of which there proved to be four. Opening these bags, one at a time, and laying them on the floor, he gently shook the base of the bag, whereupon the snake in each case darted out of the bag and as it started to crawl away was picked up by Choshnimitiwa and forced into the jar, as has already been described. A second rattlesnake to appear seemed greatly enraged as it escaped from the snake bag and began rattling at a furious rate, which seemed to amuse young Choshnimitiwa and two other much younger boys who watched it for a moment, apparently with delight, and then the youngest of the three, a boy not possibly over nine years old, with a deliberate motion picked the snake up with one hand and removing the corn-cob stopper from the jar, with the other thrust it into the receptacle. The fourth rattlesnake to appear came out from the jar tail first, by which it was picked up. The fifth snake proved to be a very long racer, which was placed in the water vessel, the last to be placed in position. The boys who had been assisting in the transfer of the snakes then took a sprig of *kuña*, and taking water into their mouths washed themselves as has been described. Lomanakshu continued smoking at the hearth.

In neither the Antelope nor the Snake kiva was any further ceremony enacted during the remainder of this day. As the priests came and went from both kivas they would take a place near the hearth for a few moments and smoke; while in the Antelope kiva the carding and spinning of wool was continued into the afternoon. The men, as usual, ate their evening meal in the kiva, and all were expected to

sleep in the kiva. This does not mean, however, that the men literally slept inside the kiva; for on two or three mornings on our ascending the mesa at a very early hour we found several of the younger priests stretched out at full length and wrapped in a single blanket on the roof of the kiva, sound asleep.

SEVENTH DAY (KOMOKTOTOKYA, WOOD PROVIDING), AUGUST 19.

This morning before four o'clock we ascended the mesa. At this hour not even a faint light had appeared in the east. Nor was anyone stirring in either of the two kivas, the priests in both apparently being fast asleep. This condition continued until a few minutes after four, when we heard the crowing of a cock. Immediately after, Lomanakshu ascended from the Snake kiva and going to the Antelope kiva, called down in a low voice some words. He was answered by Polihungwa, whereupon a light at once appeared in the Antelope kiva and Lomanakshu returned to the Snake kiva. A moment later Lomanakshu entered the Antelope kiva bringing his snake bag and whip, and accompanied by Choshnimitiwa. The two chief priests then began at once to paint and costume their charges, Lomanakshu beginning first to paint the youth. The order of this morning was as follows: First, both feet to the toes were painted white; then beginning above the ankles a white band was continued to above the knees; then a band one inch wide above this was painted in white; and then one above this; next the arms from the knuckles to the elbow and then from the shoulder blade over and across and down to about the middle of the breast, where two lines were continued on down to the waist; returning then to the shoulder, he continued two white lines down on the front side of the arms just above the elbow. Around the right wrist and around the left leg, just below the knee, he tied skeins of blue yarn, the ends of which hung down to the extent of several inches. Lomanakshu then fastened a regular kadcina kilt and sash around the waist of Choshnimitiwa, tying the ends on the right side; while from behind was suspended a fox skin, the snout of which was thrust under the kilt and sash, its tail reaching nearly to the floor. Many strands of fine turquoise and shell beads were then placed about the neck and a bunch of white eagle breast feathers was fastened in the hair.

In the meantime Polihungwa had been preparing the maid for the ceremony. Beginning at her toes, he painted her feet white up to her knees over her ankles. He then tied a pair of kadcina ankle bands to the ankles and painted her arms and face as he had done

on the previous morning and then proceeded to place upon her the ceremonial robe, etc., as has already been described. It was noticed this morning that he fastened in her hair, which hung loosely down her back, a bunch of white eagle breath feathers, and that around her right wrist he tied a skein of blue yarn. In addition a nakwakwosi was fastened to her hair, which was hanging down, on the left side of her head. Polihungwa now handed the jar with the *batni* to the *mana* and the tiponi from the northwest corner of the mosaic to the youth, to whom also Lomanakshu handed a snake which he took from the bag.

The priests now began taking their places around the mosaic, Lomanakshu, as on the previous morning, taking his place first in the circle near the center of the west side of the mosaic, with Polihungwa in the center of the south side of the mosaic. All seated, Polihungwa uttered a prayer and the asperger asperged upon the mosaic. All then took up some object in their hand for beating time, as has been described, Lomanakshu taking his snake whip and the other members taking a crook from about the altar or an eagle tail feather.

First Song. This began, as on the previous morning, in a low, deliberate chant, the priests beating time with their wands or crooks, all being seated on blankets gathered under them and with their knees drawn up to the chin, and naked except for the loin cloth and with the hair loosely hanging down the back. Old blind Qömahoiniwa, who up to this time had been asleep on the west side of the platform, now moved down off from the platform and, taking a position near the hearth, joined in a low voice in the singing.

Second Song. During this song Sikanakpu asperged from the medicine bowl upon the sand mosaic four times without leaving his place.

Third Song. Again Sikanakpu asperged the sand picture from the four directions, adding one for the above, and one for the below.

Fourth Song. Rising now, Sikanakpu asperged twice toward the mosaic and once toward the east, making from three to five passes each time.

Fifth Song. Sikanakpu continued asperging the sand picture and sat down. The time of this song differed greatly from that of the one preceding, it being much slower and somewhat of the nature of a chant to the clouds. Polihungwa, now turning partly around, removed the cloud blower from the bag, while Shakhungwa took up an ordinary pipe, filled it and began smoking.

Sixth Song. The fire having been lighted by Naphoiniwa, Polihungwa took up a live coal with his fingers and with it lighted the

cloud blower, and, getting it thoroughly lighted, went to the rear of the kiva, following a sinistral circuit, where, stooping down, he forced smoke out of the small end of the pipe on the rain symbols of the north, and, passing to the west side, forced smoke upon the green clouds of the west. Then he went to the southeast corner, then to the northeast, then to the southwest, and forced smoke upon the mosaic. He then returned to his position, emptying the ashes from the cloud blower on a corn husk, placed the pipe in its sack and resumed his position, where he sat for a moment, then taking up a meal bag, ascended the ladder until he was able to extend his arm out over the kiva hatchway, where he breathed a prayer upon a pinch of meal and threw it toward the rising sun.

Seventh Song. Polihungwa returned to his place in the circle, when Lomanakshu arose, took the meal bag and ascended to the top of the kiva ladder, breathed upon a pinch of meal and cast it in the direction of the rising sun.

Eighth Song. Toward the end of this song Polihungwa filled a pipe, lighted it, smoked, and turning, again resumed his position in the circle, where he continued smoking, while the asperger asperged the mosaic. Polihungwa then blew smoke into the medicine bowl four times and once each into the *mongwikurus*. Polihungwa now passed the pipe to the asperger, who smoked silently for a moment and then blew a thin line of smoke across the sand mosaic, and he in turn passed the pipe to Lomanakshu, who smoked contentedly, blowing smoke over the mosaic from time to time. The asperger then asperged five times over the mosaic and once toward the east, and then toward the fireplace. Here, the singing ceased.

It was possible to observe now just what the objects were which the priests had held in their hands during the singing, as they now replaced the objects in the clay pedestals. It was seen that some of them held crooks (*ngöllöshoyas*), while others held black bahos (*chochopkiata*), while still another held one of the reed arrows.

Two or three boys now entered the kiva and a moment later a woman came in, putting down at the back of the platform a U-shaped stick used in fashioning the hair whorls of the *mana*. She then sat down on the east side of the banquette. Lomanakshu now passed the pipe back to the asperger who placed it down by the side of the fireplace and Lomanakshu took up again his snake whip. Polihungwa now took from the maid the *batni* and from the youth the *tiponi*, replacing them in their proper positions, while the asperger sprinkled the mosaic. All then took a pinch of meal over which they intoned a prayer, and then sprinkled the mosaic, Talámössi, Kashwungwa (Parrot

clan), although standing outside of the circle, doing likewise. This performance, which was repeated several times, all singing the while, was one of the prettiest of the entire morning's performances. Polihungwa now began to disrobe the *mana*, while Lomanakshu sent one of the boys, who had recently entered, for water with which the *mana* and youth were to be washed. Polihungwa first removed the nakwakwosi from the *mana's* hair, when she sat down on the edge of the platform on the east side. The singing to the rain clouds of the four world quarters, which had continued, now ceased, Tobenyákioma saying "*Anchaa*." Water having been provided Lomanakshu assisted the youth in disrobing, and removing the traces of the paint he now took water in his mouth and, in a manner already described, washed his hands and face. Polihungwa then uttered a prayer, during which time Sikangpu sprinkled *tallassi* on the mosaic, when Lomanakshu took up the prayer as Polihungwa left off, all saying at its conclusion "*Anchaa*," whereupon some of the priests began filling pipes and taking a place in an informal circle about the hearth, the ceremonial semicircle about the hearth being broken up. The youth and girl had now removed the traces of the paint and the girl took a place by Talámössi, who dressed her hair in the whorls of the virgin over the hairpin. It may be noted here that on a previous morning this woman had not appeared, and as a consequence the girl was obliged to leave the kiva with her hair hanging loosely down her back. Polihungwa now began making nakwakwosis, while the others were smoking. Having finished three he stained them red and placed two of them upon a tray, tying one in the woman's hair. Spitting upon his fingers he removed the remaining traces of red paint on to the east side of the ladder. This act had been observed many times before. Lomanakshu now handed his pipe to Sikangpu, with whom he exchanged terms of relationship, whereupon Lomanakshu took his snake bag and whip and left the kiva, it being now twenty minutes after six. During this time Polihungwa and his assistant had made and deposited on different trays the following nakwakwosis or bahos: On the large tray we noticed a ball of twine, two red nakwakwosis and one eagle breath feather nakwakwosi; in another tray were three white nakwakwosis and three single green bahos, to which were attached two nakwakwosis at one end. Sikangpu now took up some meal from the meal tray and handed it to the *mana* and passed it to Lomawungyai who breathed a prayer over it, standing on the east side of the mosaic, when he sprinkled it upon the mosaic four times. The *mana* then stooped over the fireplace, took a pinch of ashes which she flirited into the air by means of a short circular

motion. She repeated this motion and the woman* went through the same operation four times, instead of two. Both of the women then took a pinch of meal from the tray and passing to the east side of the mosaic sprinkled it. Sikangpu then asperged the mosaic, while Shakventiwa took one of the bahos and one of the nakwakwosis and a pinch of meal. This he handed to one of the Snake priests who now entered and who left the kiva and, starting off on a run, went to a shrine, where he thrust the baho in the sand at one corner of the shrine, breathed a prayer on the meal, which he thereupon sprinkled upon the baho, and going about five feet to the east of the shrine deposited the nakwakwosi on the road, dropping meal upon it also. This is the first of the messengers who were to depart to the four world quarters bearing with them the baho and nakwakwosi to be deposited in a shrine. It is customary for the Antelope priests to perform this office, but on account of the scarcity in number of the Antelope priests they were assisted by the Snake men. Sikangpu now left the kiva and returning in a moment brought an object which he laid down near the fireplace and which Shakventiwa then picked up and laid across the rim of two adjoining trays.

As yesterday, so to-day, there is no ceremonial hunt, owing to the Snake priests making repairs in their paraphernalia to be used in the coming dance. Upon examining the Snake kiva from time to time during this morning the Snake priest and one or two others were found engaged in the manufacture of a pair of moccasins, others smoking around the hearth or laughing on the platform.

In the Antelope kiva Polihungwa continued his manufacture of bahos, while Shakventiwa worked on the platform with some horsehair skeins, making them ready for repairs of the bow, or *aoatnatsi*. Polihungwa now left the kiva and soon returned bringing with him two mortars for grinding paint; for this he used a short piece of yucca, the blunt end of which he placed in his mouth and chewed, whereupon the fibers became separated and it formed a fairly good brush with which he soon began to paint his baho sticks. One of the priests now left the kiva and returned with a gourd and loosely woven basket tray or sifter of yucca fiber and a bunch of cottonwood branches, together with one Middle Mesa tray. All these he deposited on the floor of the kiva on the east side.

At about half-past ten Choshnimtiwa and a small boy came in from a short hunt at the foot of the mesa. Entering the kiva they

*I understand that this woman formerly acted as Antelope maid, but now only looked after the girl, putting up her hair, etc. We have analogies for this in Oraibi. She is an ex-Antelope maid.

went at once to the corner where the snake jars were kept, and without any formality whatever Choshnimtiwa untied the bag and shook it, when the little boy picked up a rattlesnake just as it came from the bag and thrust it into the jar as on other occasions. The Chief Snake priest continued his work of the manufacture of a pair of moccasins on the platform and apparently took no heed of this transfer. At this particular time he happened to be pounding a heavy piece of rawhide upon the floor by means of a rough undressed piece of stone. The work of baho-making continued in the Antelope kiva, Shakventiwa grinding red paint on the paint mortar. Sikangpu took some water from the medicine bowl with which he moistened his black pigment. Having prepared a quantity of red paint Shakventiwa passed it over to Polihungwa. Polihungwa now took one baho stick painted entirely green except for a yellowish-brown facet, and one blunt-pointed baho stick painted yellowish brown, and with the addition of the corn-husk packet containing meal and nakwakwosis, a turkey feather and a sprig of *máövi* and *kuña*, made the first baho. Of these he made two, one to be deposited by Namurztiwa at the race the next morning, the other to be handed to the winner, and then two single blunt-pointed shafts painted black, and taking the corn-husk packet, *máövi*, *kuña*, turkey feather and a nakwakwosi, he made one, Shakventiwa and Sikangpu also each making one, all to be deposited by Namurztiwa at Chokitchmo, where the race starts the next morning. He then picked up the *chochopkiata*, painting four black bands at intervals around the white yarn which bound the accessories of the bahos in place near its upper end. The Antelope priests continued their manufacture of bahos until shortly after three o'clock, when they stopped work and, food having been brought into the kiva by some of the younger priests, they repaired to the platform and began eating. At the conclusion of the meal, Sikangpu, sitting down to the east of the fireplace on the main floor of the kiva, began cutting the cottonwood boughs into small sections about one inch in length. Having cut perhaps fifty of these and placed them in the yucca fiber sieve, which had been brought in in the forenoon and in which he now placed clay and water, stirring them up, he soon had the cylinders (*kokho*, "woods" or "sticks,") coated with clay. He then placed the tray on the southeast corner of the mosaic. Polihungwa had now completed four single green bahos with double nakwakwosi attachments, four red nakwakwosis, four black *chochopkiatas*, four red and green bahos and two small rings about two inches in diameter, to each side of which were fastened a small eagle wing feather. The baho-making was now practically completed for the day, whereupon Sikangpu care-

fully gathered up all of the refuse of the baho-making and the rind of the watermelon which had been left from the feast, and in which he placed a pinch of native tobacco and a pinch of meal and took the entire lot of refuse and deposited it over the edge of the mesa to the northeast of the village, where much rubbish of this sort may be seen, including many of the sandstones which were used in sharpening the points of the sticks for the bahos.

In addition to the work on the moccasins in the Snake kiva, some of the priests spent considerable time in the afternoon repairing the snake kilts, head dresses and other paraphernalia.

By six o'clock in the evening the Antelope priests were ready for the consecration of the various bahos which had been made during the day. This was done by the chief priest, Naphomiwa, Sikangpu and Lomawungyai. Each priest lighted a pipe, took up one of the trays of bahos, held it in his hand, smoked into it four times, then passed the pipe with the tray to his neighbor, and so it was passed from one priest to the other. Another tray would be taken up in the same manner. The position generally assumed in this consecration was a sitting posture, with the knees drawn up to the chin. Occasionally, however, after the priest had smoked over the baho four times in this manner, he would place the tray in front of him and replace it on the floor of the kiva, and kneeling over it, stooping far forward, would blow the smoke upon the bahos.

EIGHTH DAY (TOTOKYA, FOOD PROVIDING), AUGUST 20.

On approaching the summit of the mesa this morning at about half-past three o'clock was heard the voice of the crier as he made an announcement from the top of his house, which was followed by others at short intervals.

The first announcement is as follows:

Pangkake uma sinomu tataiya; hak hihta chōkaashnika naashash-tani. Pai hahlaikahkango, cukaokahkango.

[You people over there, awake! Whoever has any painting up to do, do it happily, courageously.]

He then retires to the kiva and soon announces:

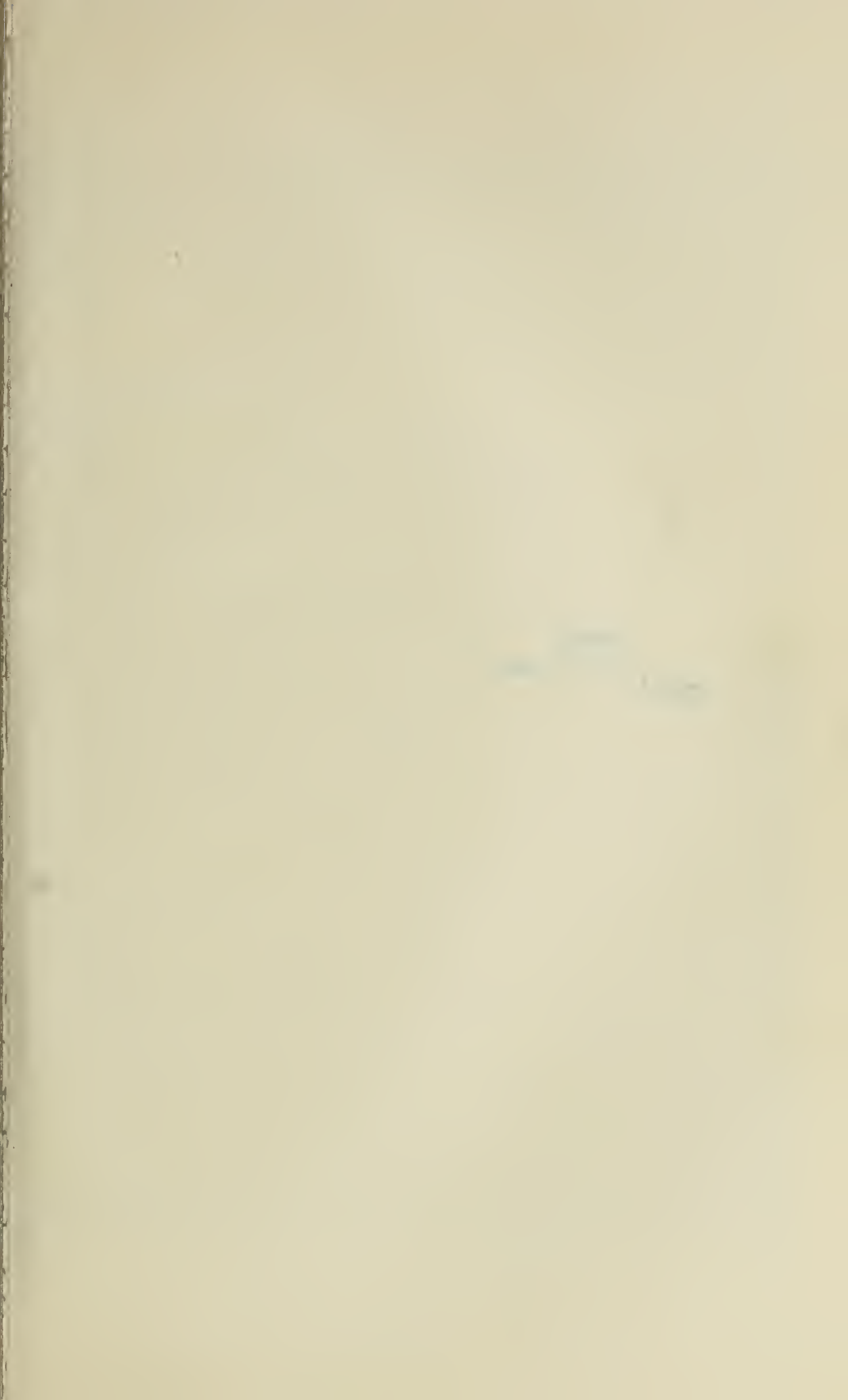
Pangkake uma chōchōkaashiyani. Pai hahlaikahkango, cūkao-kahkango.

[You over there, paint yourself up, happily, bravely.]

Again, a little later:

Pangkake uma yūyahiotani. Hahlaikuhkango, cukaokahkango

[Array yourself, gladly, bravely.]





PRIESTS AT THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

PL. XCVIII. PRIESTS AT THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

Antelope priests carrying baho-making material into the Antelope kiva.

Again, a little later:

Pangkakae uma yoshiya, owi hahlaiċkahċkango, cukaohċkahċkango, nōngaknani.

[You over there, being arrayed (or dressed up), gladly, bravely emerge now (for the race).]

Before dawn and while it was still dark, on this morning, Polihungwa ascended the ladder of the Antelope kiva and fastened across the two poles of the ladder the bow or *aoċtnatsi* of the Antelope Fraternity. In a moment Lomanakshu, Chief Priest of the Snake Fraternity, fastened the *aoċtnatsi* of the Snake Fraternity in a similar position on the ladder of the Snake kiva.

The two *natsis* are very similar in general character, so that a description of one with a notice of whatever differences there may be in the other will suffice. The bow of the Antelope *natsi* (see Pl. XCVIII) was an ordinary bow such as is used to-day by the young men and was without sinew backing. It measured two and one-half feet in length and was provided with a twisted sinew string. As the bow was placed on the ladder this string was downward, and from it throughout its entire length was attached a fringe of horsehair. Also from the sinew string and at fairly regular intervals were the following objects, beginning at the left: A black skin with white spots (*pūhcha*, skunk skin), a black-tipped eagle feather fastened by means of a short piece of sinew, a yellow weasel skin (*piwani*), a black skin, an eagle feather, a yellow skin, an eagle feather, a black skin and a yellow skin. Above the sinew string with these pendants and attached to the bow itself were two reed arrows, two feet in length, the points being sharpened sticks about six inches in length. The feathering of both arrows was much worn. The *aoċtnatsi* of the Snake fraternity, as has been stated, was in general similar to the one just described. The two arrows, it was noted, had been made with great care and, curiously, bore iron points and had the appearance of being comparatively new. The bow with the sinew string was like that of the Antelope *natsi*. The objects suspended along the horsehair fringe were as follows, beginning on the left side: First a skin, an eagle tail feather, a *piwani* skin, an eagle tail feather, a *piwani* skin, a *piwani* skin, an eagle tail feather, a *piwani* skin, an eagle tail feather, and finally a *piwani* skin.

The *aoċtnatsis* of the two societies being in place, each priest cast a pinch of meal on his *natsi* four times. They now removed the snake whip *natsis* which had remained in the straw matting or covering of the kiva hatchway throughout the first seven days of the ceremony. They also removed the straw mat hatchway covering, thus

exposing that side opposite the ladder, and swept the hatchway, around which they then sprinkled with sand a line. The priests then sprinkled meal in a straight line entirely around the kiva, following a sinistral circuit, until they had sprinkled four parallel lines, when a diagonal line was sprinkled on the northeast corner and on the southeast corner, and also three transverse lines on each side passing directly over the middle of the long lines. The digging sticks and throwing sticks had already been removed and were now lying on the roof of the Tao kiva near by. The Snake whip *natsis* were now placed on the ground leaning against the rounded beam of the open side of the hatchway and opposite the ladder (see Pl. XCIX, c).

On entering the Snake kiva at ten minutes past four, two bull roarers (*towókingpiata*) and two lightning frames (*talawihpiki*) were found lying on a tray near the hearth. These had been brought into the kiva by Homisiima very early on this day. While Lomanakshu was putting up the *aadtnatsi*, two Snake priests, Sikánñakyoma and Qö'chbuyaoma, were making preparations within the Snake kiva for the coming ceremony in the Antelope kiva. They began by making a rough part in the hair just over the left eye, upon which they daubed to the extent of nearly two inches thick white clay, and tied a nakwakwosi to a lock of hair near this spot. The hair otherwise was permitted to hang loosely down the back. They then painted their faces red, over which they placed on the cheek a perpendicular black line of specular iron. On the top of the head they fastened a bunch of eagle breath feathers stained red. They next put on the snake kilt, tying it on the right side. A bandoleer was then placed over the right shoulder, the lower part of it hanging under the left arm. Sikánñakyoma then took up one of the bull roarers and one of the lightning frames, while Qö'tchbúyaoma took up the other pair. Stepping toward the forward end of the kiva, both twirled the bull roarers several times and then performed with the lightning frames. Then stepping on the platform, they went through the same operation and then upward toward the kiva opening, when they ascended the ladder and the operation was repeated on the kiva hatchway, twirling the bull roarers several times and then shooting the lightning frames four times, first to the north, then to the west, then to the south and then to the east (see Pl. C). It was just five o'clock when the two Kalehtakas left the Snake kiva and entered the Antelope kiva. At this time a number of the priests of the two fraternities not actively engaged in the early morning ceremonies, with a few of the young men of the village not members of either of the fraternities, were seen to leave the mesa by the east trail, where they descended at a rapid gait down into the



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PL. XCIX. SCENES ABOUT THE SNAKE KIVA.

- a.* Snake priest about to fasten foxskin to the ladder poles.
- b.* Snake priest fastening foxskin to ladder pole.
- c.* Woman carrying water to the Snake kiva for the washing after the ceremony.
- d.* Snake priest removing Snake *aoátnatsi* from the Snake kiva.



b



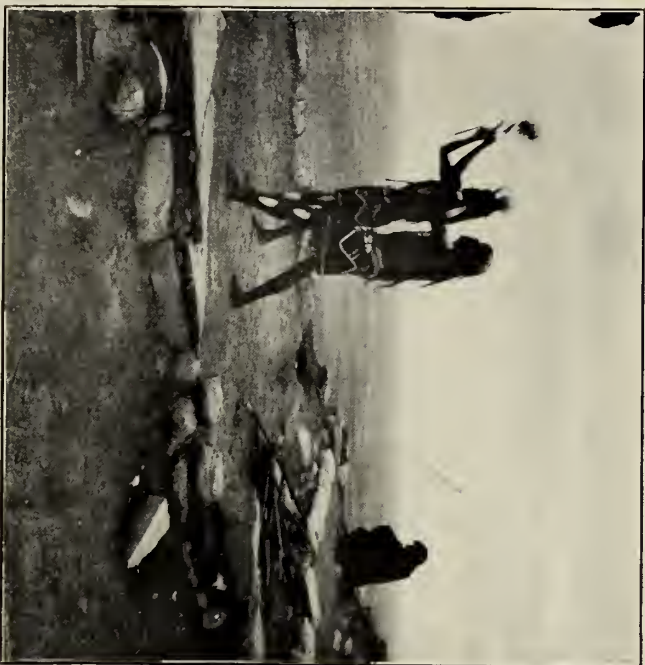
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SCENES ABOUT THE SNAKE KIVA.

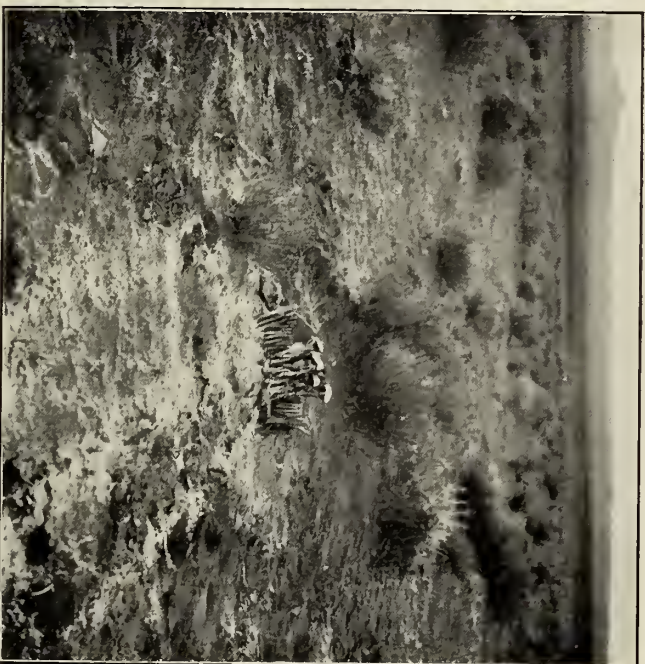


PL. C. INCIDENTS OF THE ANTELOPE RACE ON THE EIGHTH DAY.

- a.* The two Kaletahka shooting the lightning frame on the Snake kiva.
- b.* Shrine and cloud symbols of sacred meal. These cloud symbols mark the starting point of the Antelope race.



a



b

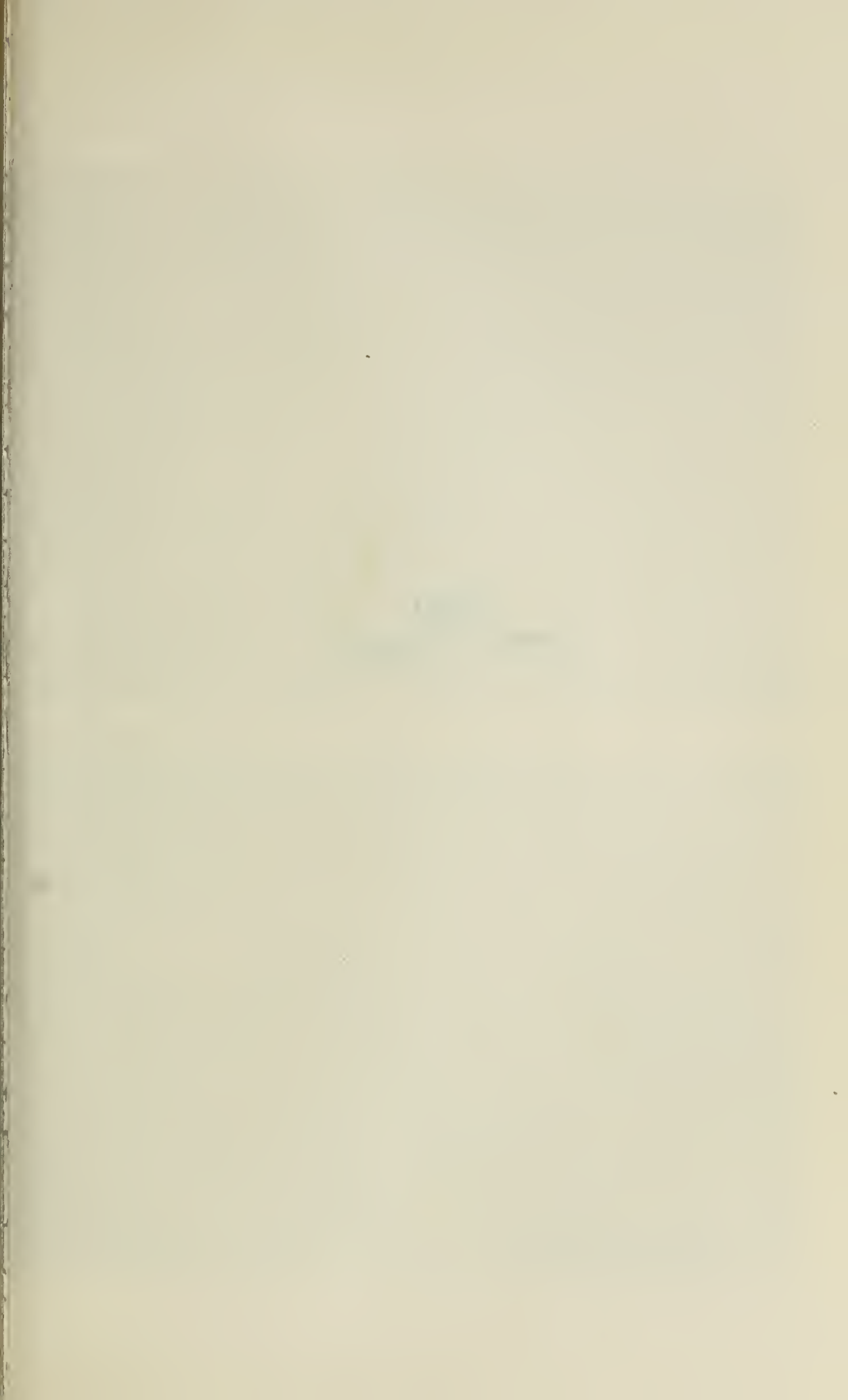
INCIDENTS OF THE ANTELOPE RACE ON THE EIGHTH DAY.





PL. CI. SINGING THE TRADITIONAL SONGS IN THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

Eighth day: Around the mosaic are seated the Antelope priests, with the Snake youth and Antelope maid at the rear of the altar. At the right is a Kalehtaka whirling a bullroarer.





SINGING THE TRADITIONAL SONGS IN THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

PL. CII. SINGING THE TRADITIONAL SONGS IN THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

- a.* Warrior whirling the bullroarer.
- b.* The two warriors at the northwest corner of the sand mosaic, whirling the bullroarer.



a



b

BOYS AWAITING THE ARRIVAL OF THE RACERS.

PL. CIII. BOYS AWAITING THE ARRIVAL OF THE RACERS.

- a.* Antelope boy holding prize of corn.
- b.* Antelope boys with green cornstalks.

plain east of the village. These men were all naked except for a loin cloth, and practically all of them had a small bell fastened around one of the legs at the knee, and all were barefooted.

In the meantime the singing of the eight traditional songs, with accompanying ceremonies, was being performed as on the two previous mornings in the Antelope kiva. As the Kalehtakas entered, Namurztiwa had just fastened around his waist a katcina sash and now left the kiva with a young Antelope priest who had been standing on the west side of the kiva and who had been decorated by Namurztiwa as follows: The chin was painted black with a white line over the lower tip of the upper lip extending from the base of one ear to the other. Over the breast, from shoulder to shoulder, was a straight black line from which depended two zigzag lines passing down in front of the breast to the waist; on each arm and on each leg was a zigzag black line; while around the waist the boy wore the blue ceremonial kilt (*sakwavitkuna*); in his hair was a nakwakwosi. Namurztiwa had gone to dress the youth during the singing of the second song. On entering the Antelope kiva the Kalehtakas took a position at once on the north side of the altar, one at the northeast, the other at the northwest, where they first twirled their bull roarers and then shot the lightning frames, the ceremony being repeated on the west and on the south and on the east sides (see Pls. CI and CII). They then sat down on the edge of the platform just west of the ladder and smoked, a pipe being handed them by Sikangpu. Shokhungwa now left the kiva and went to the top of Polihungwa's house, where he gave the first public announcement of the Antelope dance to be performed that afternoon.

A moment later Polihunga handed Namurztiwa four *naalöngbahos* (red and green bahos) and three black *chochopkis*, which he wrapped up in a cloth. Polihungwa and Naphoiniwa now addressed Namurztiwa, who answered, "All right. May we be strong." The Antelope youth now went to the northwest corner of the mosaic, where he took up one of the black rings already described, and a *mongwikurú*.

The singing of the eight traditional songs being concluded, Namurztiwa now left the kiva, followed by the youth and the two Kalehtakas, who took with them their bull roarers and lightning frames. Taking the eastern trail, they soon disappeared down the side of the mesa. Many small boys and girls put in an appearance now and descended to the first terrace of the mesa, the boys bearing corn stalks and having fantastic costumes. By half-past five o'clock they had reached the lower trail at the northeast of Mishongnovi and

stopped at the Lömöwa spring. Namurztiwa entered the spring and deposited a nakwakwosi, upon which he sprinkled meal, and then with his thumb and forefinger sprinkled water four times to the rising sun. He then took the *mongwikuru* from the youth, filled it with water, uttered a prayer over it and returned it to the youth. He then took a handful of moist clay from under a rock on the edge of the spring and put it on a sandstone, which he picked up to take with him. The four men then started on a run along the trail and went to the Shokitshmo (Fingernail hill) shrine, southeast of the village (See Pl. CIV, *b*). Here Namurztiwa took a pinch of meal, and holding it to his lips breathed upon it a prayer, and then on the trail made two straight lines, crossing at right angles. He then deposited the seven bahos in the shrine, in front of which, with meal, he made three semicircular cloud symbols, two being in a row and the other being above and between the first two. He then drew a straight line with meal, connecting the tips of the two lower symbols. From their outer edges and the intersecting point of the two, he drew now three straight parallel lines about four feet in length, the diameter of the two cloud symbols lying side by side being about three feet. At the meeting point of the central straight line with the other straight line connecting the tips of the two cloud symbols, he placed the small black wheel, upon which he deposited the *mongwikuru* (see Pl. C, *b*). To the left and just beyond the cloud symbols, he placed the flat stone with the mud which he had brought from the spring. The bull roarers and lightning frames were now taken from the Kalehtakas and deposited in the center of the upper cloud symbol. On the center one of the three parallel lines he placed two nakwakwosis, which he sprinkled with meal. He now uttered a prayer over the symbols and then the priests retraced their course about forty paces along the trail toward the village, where Namurztiwa made another cloud symbol and again deposited two nakwakwosis on the middle line. Again he proceeded toward the village to the extent of about sixty paces and made another set of cloud symbols, upon the middle line of which he deposited three nakwakwosis, which he sprinkled with meal. Starting again toward the village he halted, after passing about sixty-five paces, and made a fourth set of cloud symbols, upon which he deposited four nakwakwosis. It was now twenty minutes past five.

Namurztiwa now retraced his steps to the first series of cloud symbols. Here, the naked men who have been mentioned as having left the village, now began to arrive. By a quarter of six they had all arrived, and lining up just beyond the shrine, those of them who wore shirts removed them and tied them around their waists (see

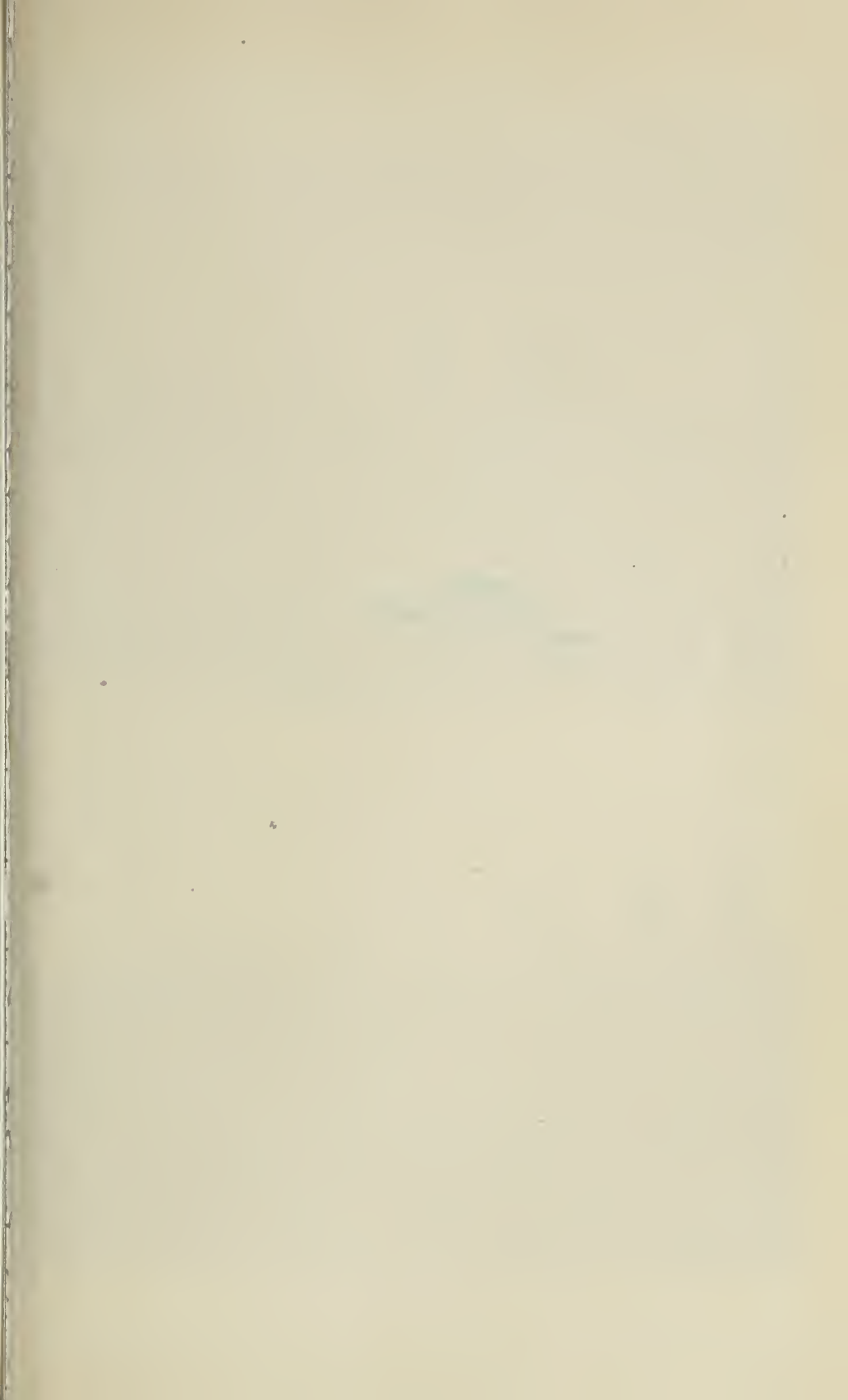


PL. CIV. SHRINES.

- a.* Shrine where bahos are deposited on the eighth day.
- b.* Shrine of Shokitshmo, where bahos are deposited on the eighth day.



SHRINES.

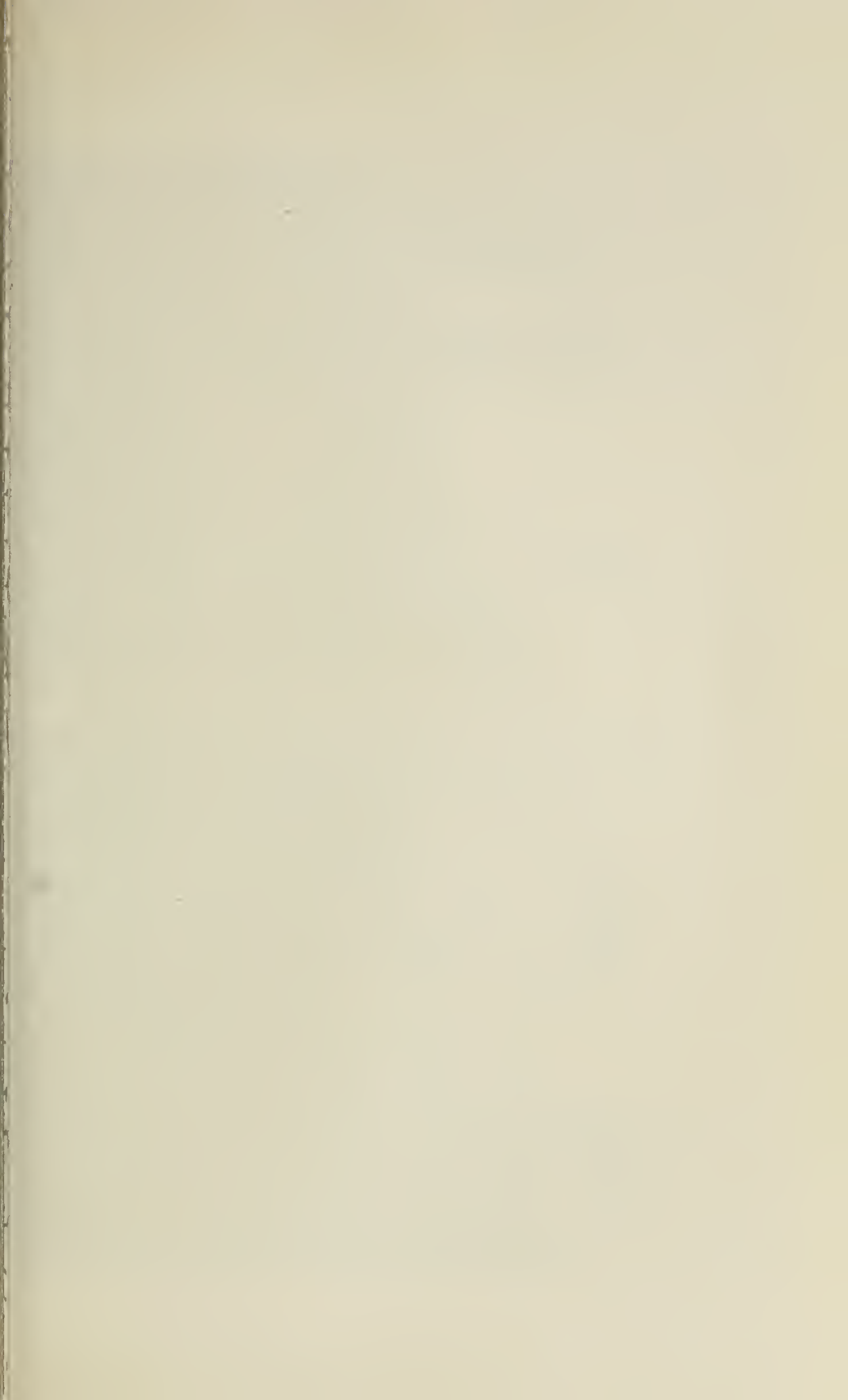




THE ANTELOPE RACE.

PL. CV. THE ANTELOPE RACE.

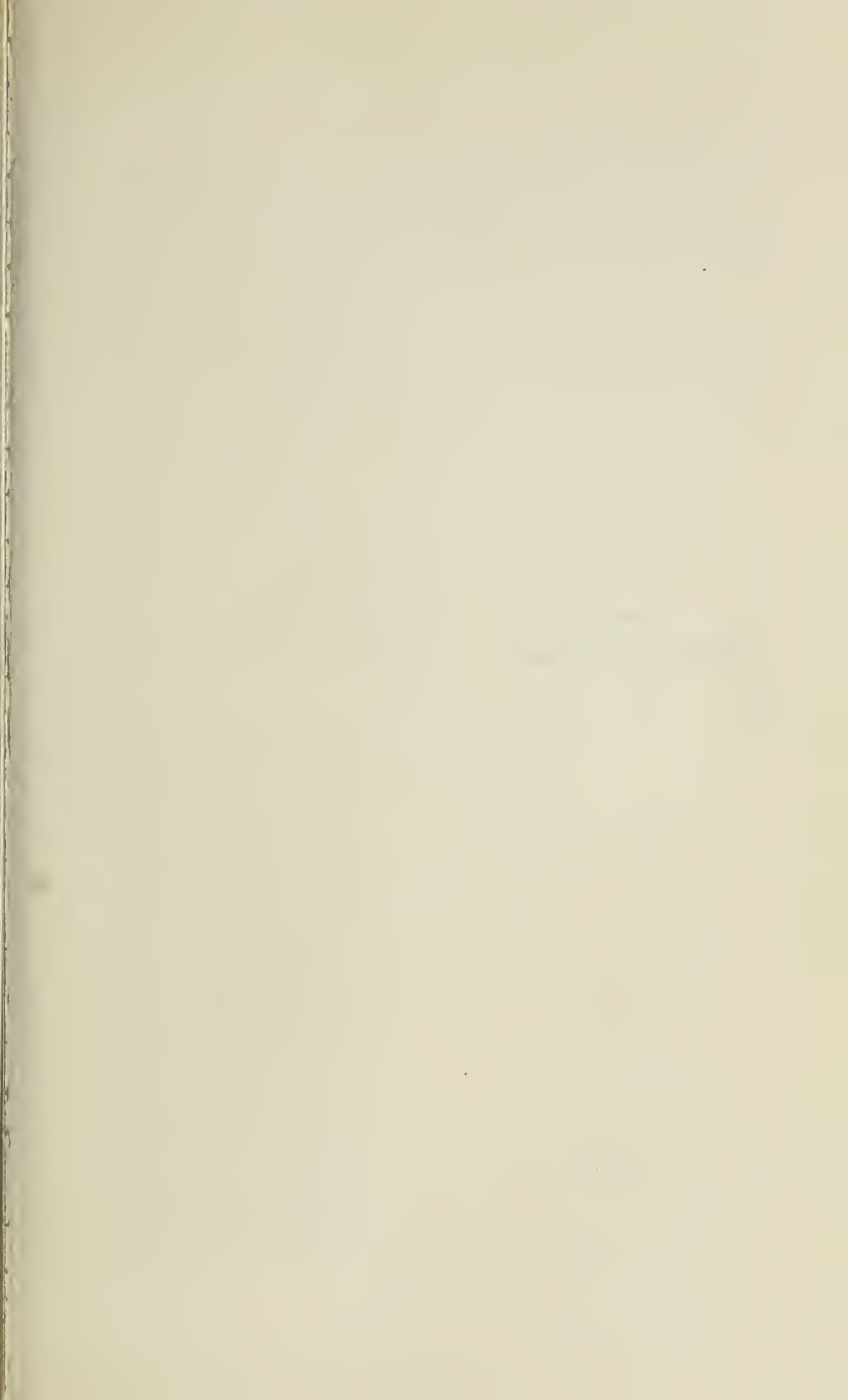
- a.* The cloud symbols in the plain with Namurziwa.
- b.* Racers awaiting the signal.

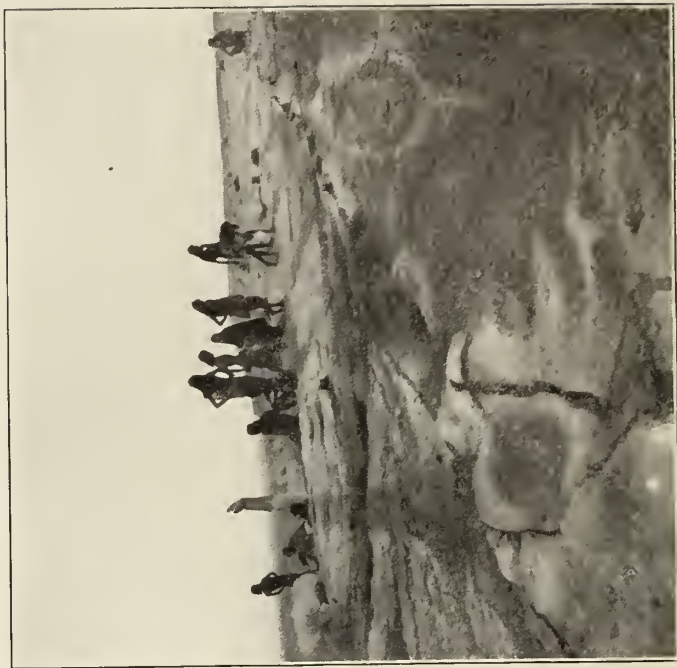




PL. CVI. WINNER OF THE RACE AT THE ANTELOPE KIVA.

- a.* The winner passing the Snake kiva.
- b.* The winner awaiting the prize at the Antelope kiva; Kalehtaka shooting the lightning frame.





ARRIVAL OF THE RACERS AT THE FIRST TERRACE OF THE MESA.

PL. CVII. ARRIVAL OF THE RACERS AT THE FIRST TERRACE OF THE MESA.

- a.* Defeated racers resting.
- b.* Namurztiwa depositing a *nakwakwosi* and meal on the trail.



Pl. CV, *a*). Namurztiwa then took a particle of clay from the stone which had been lying at the left of the cloud symbols, and smeared a small portion of it on the bottom of the foot of each of the runners, the explanation of this being, so it was said, to induce the rain clouds to come more quickly, the mud having been taken from a spring. While the men who were soon to take part in the race now stood in line awaiting the signal (see Pl. CV, *b*), Namurztjwa began walking toward the village, passing over successively the second and third set of cloud symbols, until he reached the fourth, or the one nearest the village. While he had been doing this, the two Kalehtakas had twirled their bull roarers and shot their lightning frames over the shrine. They now started in the direction of the fourth set of symbols, but one went at one side of the path and the other at the other side. In making the journey from the first to the second set and from the second to the third and from the third to the fourth, they described two spiral curves crossing each other at each cloud symbol, and taking opposite sides of the path as they met each set of cloud symbols. Their arrival at the fourth cloud symbol, where Namurztiwa was awaiting them, was the signal for the start of the race, all of the runners starting forward simultaneously, yelling vociferously as they passed each set of cloud symbols. The race was now, one of deadly earnestness, and made an extremely pretty picture, with the men strung out in a long line, their bodies glistening with the early morning sun, while the noise, produced by the bells on their legs, could be heard at a long distance. Namurztiwa having started at the head of the line of racers was the first to appear up the trail of the mesa, where he stopped at the edge of the first terrace. Shortly after the first of the racers made his appearance, having easily outdistanced the remainder of the line; as he passed Namurztiwa he was handed the ring and *mongwikuru*, and went on up to the kiva (see Pl. CVI, *a*). The winner proved to be a young man by the name of Talahkuiwa. He was not a member of either the Snake or the Antelope Fraternity. Namurztiwa now sprinkled meal on the trail and deposited four *nakwakwosis*, and awaited the arrival of the two Kalehtakas. In the meantime, others of the racers had arrived at this point where they halted, sat down on the rock, and waited (see Pl. CVII). Soon the first Kalehtaka appeared, and when he had reached the trail near the spot where Namurztiwa had deposited the *nakwakwosi*, he faced the east, shot the lightning frame once, and then twirled the bull roarer four times. He now remained standing by the side of and to the east of Namurztiwa, awaiting the second Kalehtaka, who soon appeared, and at once

repeated the performance of the first Kalehtaka (see Pl. CVIII and CIX).

During the depositing of the nakwakwosis and while the Kalehtaka had been performing, an interesting event had taken place on the eastern end of this terrace. Immediately on the appearance of the winner of the race, the boys who had been standing near by in a group bearing corn husks started on a run, closely followed by the girls. There then ensued a lively scramble for the cornstalks, which were finally captured by the girls, who bore them to their homes.

Namurztiwa and the two Kalehtakas had gone on up to the summit of the mesa where Namurztiwa entered the Antelope kiva, while the two Kalehtakas remained just outside of the Antelope kiva and shot their lightning frames to the north, to the west, to the south and to the east, and then both twirled the bull roarers. They then went to the Snake kiva and repeated the performance. Thereupon they entered the Snake kiva and deposited the frames and roarers on a basket tray. The pipes were now lighted by a number of the priests who resumed a semicircular position about the hearth, whereupon the first in the line took up the tray and smoked upon it four times, when it was passed to the other priests, who smoked upon it in succession. The Kalehtakas at once began removing the paint from their bodies and disrobed.

When the winner of the race arrived at the kiva he stamped three times with his right foot upon the hatchway. A moment later Polihungwa ascended the ladder and took from him the ring and the *mongwikuru* (see Pl. CXI, *a* and *b*). With this Polihungwa descended into the kiva and placed the ring on the floor just between and behind the first two *mongwikurus* on the south side of the mosaic. He now lighted a pipe and placing his mouth close to the aperture in the *mongwikuru* smoked into it four times. He now passed the pipe to Lomanakshu, the Chief Snake priest, exchanging, as he did so, terms of relationship, whereupon the latter smoked into the *mongwikuru* four times. Sikanakpu now took the pipe from Lomanakshu, smoked four times into the *mongwikuru*, while Polihungwa took up a pinch of ashes from the hearth and cast it in the four directions, beginning with the north. He went toward the mosaic where he took up a red and green baho. Lomanakshu in the meantime had taken up the *mongwikuru*, and with a corn husk had dipped water from the medicine bowl into the *mongwikuru* four times, when he took up a handful of meal from the meal tray and upon this deposited the ring and the *mongwikuru*. These he now passed to Polihungwa, who held them in his right hand together with a baho, holding his left hand



PL. CVIII. CEREMONIES ON THE MESA, AFTER THE RACE.

- a.* Arrival of the first Kalehtaka.
- b.* The two Kalehtaka performing with the bullroarer.



a

CEREMONIES ON THE MESA, AFTER THE RACE.



b



PL. CIX. CEREMONIES ON THE MESA, AFTER THE RACE.

- a.* The two Kalehtaka whirling the bullroarer.
- b.* The Kalehtaka shooting the lightning frame.



CEREMONIES ON THE MESA, AFTER THE RACE.



PL. CX.

Boys awaiting the arrival of the girls for the scramble for cornstalks, etc.



BOYS AWAITING THE ARRIVAL OF THE GIRLS FOR THE SCRAMBLE FOR CORNSTALKS, ETC.



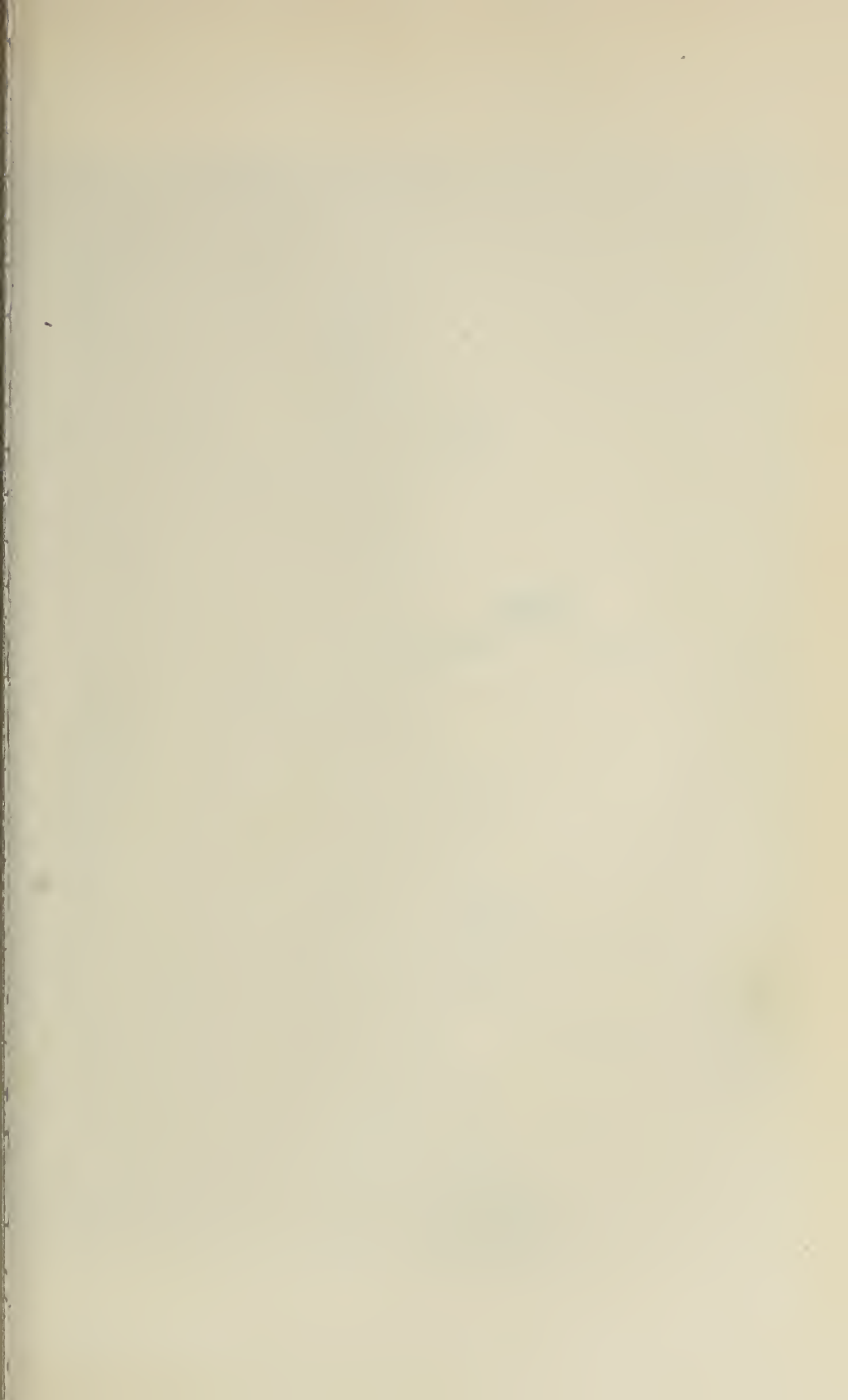
PL. CXI. WINNER OF THE RACE RECEIVING THE PRIZE.

- a.* The Antelope priest bringing the prize from the kiva.
- b.* The Antelope priest handing the prize to the winner.



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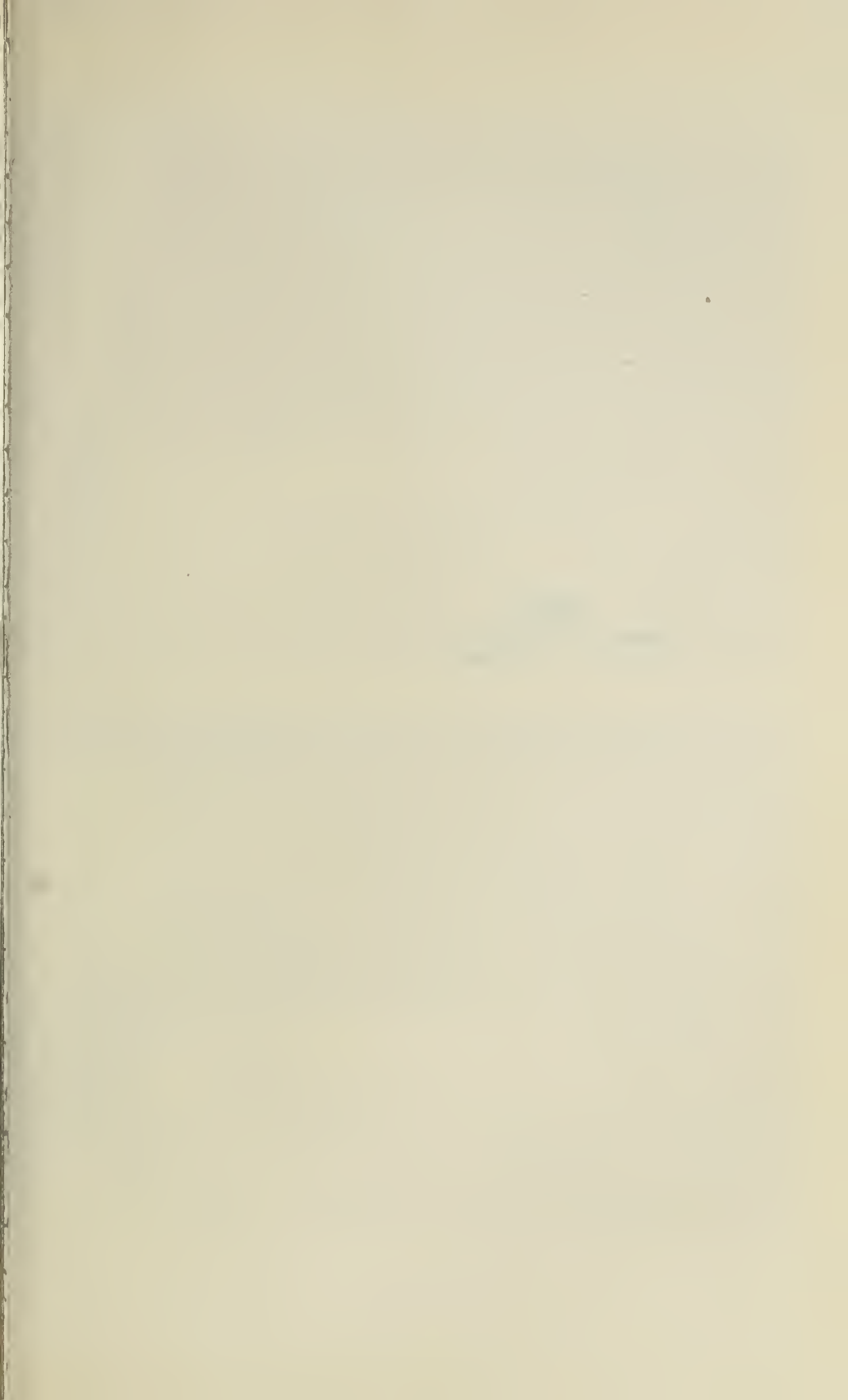






PL. CXII.

The winner of the race awaiting the arrival of the Kalehtaka.





THE ANTELOPE KIVA ON THE EIGHTH DAY.

PL. CXIII. THE ANTELOPE KIVA ON THE EIGHTH DAY.

- a.* Just before the beginning of the manufacture of bahos.
- b.* In the afternoon, after the completion of the manufacture of bahos.

over the mouth of the *mongwikuru*. Lomanakshu now uttered a prayer over these objects, at the conclusion of which Polihungwa took them to his kiva and gave them to Talahkuiwa, who had been waiting here (see Pl. CXII) in the meantime, and who now took them to his own field,* where he deposited the wheel, poured the water on it and returned the *mongwikuru* to the kiva.

This concluded the early morning's performance, which had certainly not been without great interest and beauty. From now on, until nearly five o'clock, the Snake men passed in and out of their kiva, a few of them idling away their time; but the majority of them were busily engaged in the manufacture of moccasins, or in the repairing of some part of their paraphernalia which would be required in the Antelope dance of this afternoon. The sight in the kiva throughout this portion of the day was an extremely interesting one; for there is no process of the manufacture of native garments with which the Hopi man is not perfectly familiar, as by the curious division of labor the men do all the spinning, weaving, etc., of the garments of both sexes.

In the Antelope kiva the priests were equally busy. Here they were engaged in the manufacture of bahos; for this of all the days of the ceremony may truly be called a *baholawu* or baho-making day (see Pl. CXIII). It is supposed that every member of the Antelope Fraternity on this day shall make an entire set of the bahos about to be described, but, as a matter of fact, certain of the priests were obliged to visit their fields on this day, while a few others, on account of their age, were not able to make bahos. The consequence was that certain priests, ten in number, not only made a complete set of bahos for themselves, but a full or partial set for the members who were absent or who were too young to do such work. The *nakwakwosis* on the bahos about to be described were all stained red, unless otherwise noted to the contrary. First, a double baho, one stick being painted green and the other yellow, and one *chochopkiata*; these bahos, that is, one of each for all the members of the Antelope Fraternity, were to be deposited by Namurztiwa the next morning, before redirecting the race, at a distant shrine in the plain below. Second, a road marker, or *pühtavi*, which was left uncolored, and which was also to be deposited by Namurztiwa on or before the morning race on the trail. Third, a double baho, one stick being painted green, the other yellow, one *chochopkiata*, and one single green baho with a double eagle feather

* Polihungwa claims that the offerings were taken to his (Polihungwa's) field on this day, to the winner's field the next day; but he says that it was an exception. He asked the winner to do it and he did it.

nakwakwosi attached to it, all of these to be deposited on the following afternoon by the individual makers or the owners of the bahos in their fields, watermelon patches, peach orchards, etc. Fourth, one black *chochopkiata* fourteen inches in length. These were made for the Snake priests, one to be borne by each one of them during the snake dance the following day, and later to be deposited by them when they released the snakes. Fifth, one double green sun baho with a white nakwakwosi attached to it, which was to be deposited on the following morning as an offering to the sun.

The Chief Antelope priest, in addition to the bahos above mentioned, made also the following: First, the four green bahos, such as had been made by him on the three preceding days, to be deposited in the shrines of the four world quarters; second, a number of nakwakwosis, the future disposition of which was not learned; and third, a double green baho about three inches in length, and which differed from all ordinary bahos from the fact that both sticks bore a facet (these being female). This baho was deposited on the following morning as a prayer offering, that many children might "be born in the village."

The four men who owned the four *mongwikurus* which, it has been noted, stood on the south side of the sand mosaic, also made certain bahos not made by the priests of the fraternity in general. Shokhungwa and Namurztiwa made one double green baho, while Lomashihkuiwa and Qōmāletstiwa made, in addition to a double green baho, one black *chochopkiata*. The ultimate fate of these bahos made by these four men is not known.

Not all of the priests worked on these bahos simultaneously, but throughout the day they were passing in and out of the kiva, and usually, as soon as they had consecrated their bahos, those of a kind were placed in pairs and consecrated by Polihungwa (see Pl. CXIV), and then were placed on the floor of the kiva between the hearth and the south side of the mosaic.

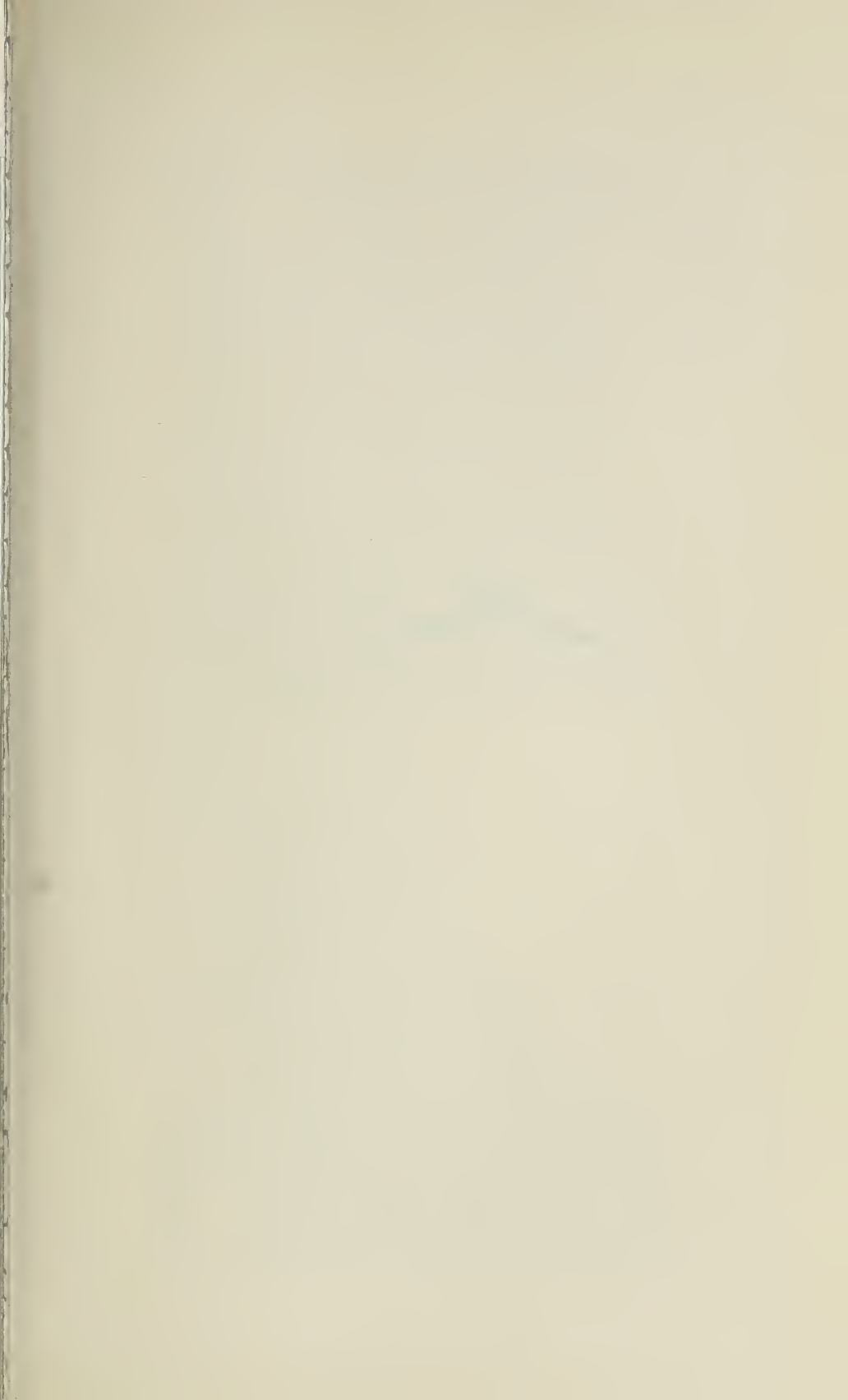
The work of the baho-making being practically completed in the Antelope kiva, food was brought in and the majority of the priests began eating. Before they did so, however, they passed around to the northwest corner of the kiva where they removed the nakwakwosis from their hair, and having passed them through their hair and over their heads, fastened the nakwakwosis to one of the eagle tail feathers of the *tiponi*. During the afternoon it was also noticed that a small black ring with two feathers attached to its side, similar to the one described as having been used on this morning's ceremony, had been made by the Antelope priest the previous day and now rested on a

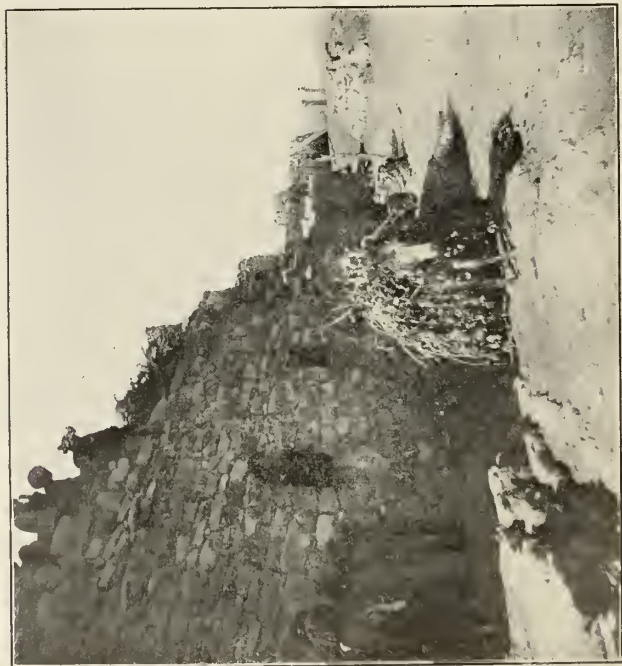


PL. CXIV.

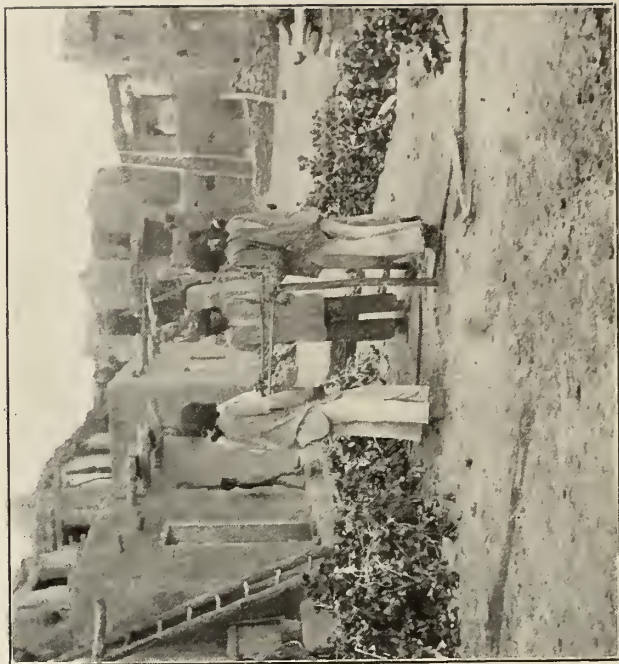
Antelope priests consecrating bahos







a



b

THE ERECTION OF THE KISI.

PL. CXV. THE ERECTION OF THE KISI.

- a.* Material for the kisi being brought into the village.
- b.* Snake priests beginning the erection of the kisi.

tray of meal. On the ring was a tiny *mongwikuru*, or netted gourd,* while by the side of the ring there lay a long eagle breath feather *nakwakwosi*. It was also noticed that on the east side of the kiva lay a bundle of cottonwood boughs, while another bundle was on the west side of the kiva, being tied up into a compact bundle.

At about two o'clock several men and boys had gone to the valley (the exact place being immaterial) to secure materials for the booth or *kisi*, which they brought into the central plaza of Mishongnovi (see Pl. CXV, *a*). Here, near the center and on the west side of the plaza were first erected four uprights about three feet in height and about an equal distance apart at their bases. These uprights terminated in their upper extremity in a fork and into these were placed crossbars (see Pl. CXV, *b*). Upon this framework they now leaned the cottonwood and other boughs, entirely enclosing it except on the front side, where they left a small space just large enough for the entrance of a man, which they now closed over with a piece of canvas.

As it approached five o'clock the Snake priests had about all assembled in the kiva. Those who had not already done so, brought in their snake kilts and other objects belonging to the Snake dance costume. Stalks of corn, bean, watermelon and squash vines and cottonwood boughs had been brought into the kiva by Lomáwungyai and were now made into two small bundles about twenty inches in length, a red-stained *nakwakwosis* being attached to the tip of each bundle, and were deposited in a tray near the fireplace, whereupon they were consecrated by Lomanakshu.

Preparation now began in the center of the kiva for the coming performance known as the Antelope dance. Those who had not already done so removed their ordinary clothing and then they painted the face. Over the breast they then placed two white spots, one on each side, and a white spot was added just above the navel. Another white spot was added to the left side of the forehead. A band was then painted around the leg near the thigh, and a large irregular patch of white was daubed on the calf of the leg as well as on the outside of the upper and lower arm. On the middle of the back and just below the shoulder, and on the elbows, were also painted white spots, and finally the hands were painted white, the men removing the paint from their hands, after they had finished decorating the body,

*These wheels are usually made of *wifo* leaves, a species of reed which grows near springs and in swampy places. Hopi priests say that they are special prayer offerings for springs and especially for washes, that they may have plenty of water. They say that when the washes rise and irrigate their fields little balls and "rolls" are formed from the mud. These are represented and symbolized by these wheels.

on the ladder beams. About the neck they put many strands of shells and turquoise beads. A number of priests also placed around their necks a fairly large-sized abalone shell, suspended from the string of beads. The snake kilt was then passed around the waist and was tied on the right side, and the wrist protector was put on the left arm. To a lock of hair at the front of the head they fastened a red-stained nakwakwosi. Over the moccasins they now placed red-fringed ankle bands, and around the legs just below the knee they fastened white knee bands of cottonwood, to the outside of which depended long strips of red-stained buckskin. Over the snake kilt was then added a fringed buckskin kilt which also opened on the right side. Over the right shoulder was passed a bandoleer, while on the right leg, just below the knee, was attached a turtle-shell rattle. They now loosened the hair and carefully combed it out with a native brush and allowed it to hang loosely down the back. On top of the head was then attached a large bunch of fluffy eagle feathers stained red, and at the back of each head was fastened an object much resembling two small aspergils tied together and known as a *hurunkwa*.

Naturally the order of the preparation for the dance just described was greatly modified by the different priests, and naturally scarcely any two of them were doing the same things at exactly the same time. The sight was not without considerable interest, and indeed it resembled nothing so much as a scene behind the curtain of an amateur theatrical company a half hour before the raising of the curtain. Many of the priests had brought with them into the kiva small hand-mirrors or bits of looking-glass which they had obtained from the trader and which were now in great demand and which were constantly being passed from one priest to another. There was much talking all the while, with a considerable amount of mirth. Poor blind Homiwush-yoma had kept his usual position seated just to the east of the fireplace, apparently enjoying the mirth and eagerness of the dancers. He was constantly appealed to by one or another of the priests as to the proper way to fasten some garment, or in regard to the painting of the body. It was also interesting to note the regard which the older priests had for the younger members, some of whom were under ten years of age, and how careful they were to see that they were properly costumed. A surprising amount of vanity was revealed among the men, as at the completion of their preparation they carefully scanned themselves in the looking-glass or paraded back and forth in the kiva.

DECORATION AND COSTUME OF ANTELOPE PRIESTS.

In the Antelope kiva a similar scene had been taking place, but here were found two different types of body decoration. The young and middle-aged men, six or seven in number, painted their arms from their elbows to their wrists white, and their shoulders well down on to the breast were painted entirely white. From these, two stripes were continued on each side of the median line of the breast. These lines terminated in a band of white four inches in width, which entirely circled the body at the waist. The middle of the lower legs to the tips of the toes was painted white with a band, also white, above and below the knee.

The old men and the small boys had the extremities of both arms and legs painted as were those of the middle-aged men described. They also had around their waists a band of white, but from this waist-band passed two zigzag lines which ran up to the shoulder and then down the front surface of each arm where it joined the band around the lower arm. In front of each leg was a zigzag line terminating in a white band above the ankles.

The chin of all of the priests, including the old, middle-aged men and the boys, was blackened with specular iron, its upper boundary being a white line which passed over the lower tip of the upper lip and extended from ear to ear. The costume of the Antelope men differed greatly from that of the Snake priests. Around the waist of the majority of the priests was the ordinary katchina kilt and sash, both fastened on the right side. From behind and thrust into the kilt depended a fox-skin. Around the ankles were katchina ankle bands and around the left wrist and both legs just below the knees were strands of blue yarn, while over the right shoulder and passing down under the left arm was a yarn bandoleer.

While the above description of the costume of the Antelope priests answers for the majority of the men, yet there are a few exceptions; for example, a few had no ankle bands, while others did not have the yarn wristlet or a yarn band on the leg, but the probabilities are that these seeming irregularities in the costume are devoid of meaning and are simply due to the fact that the individual priests did not possess these objects. As a matter of fact, during the preparation of the men for the dance, such remarks as these were often heard: "I can not find my fox-skin." "The moths have destroyed my bandoleer." "I must try to borrow a wristlet." "Well, I shall have to do without it," etc., etc. There were, however, among the priests two or three innovations from the costume as described above which are not due to accident and which deserve notice. Two of the

small boys wore blue kilts (*sakwavitkuna*) only, having no sash, while two of the other boys wore only a black kilt (*sōqōmritkuna*). The costume of Polihungwa, the Chief Antelope priest, differed only from that of the priests above described in his having blue leather arm bands just above the elbows, to each of which was tied a hawk feather and under which and extending backward were thrust several similar branches of cottonwood. Lomayungwai, the priest who was afterward to dance on the plaza with the bundle of vines in his mouth, also wore a cottonwood wreath around his forehead. The asperger, Sikanakpu, wore around his head and arms a cottonwood wreath and a bunch of fluffy white feathers on his head, while the four owners of the *mongwikurus*, Shakhungwa, Namurziwa, Qōmāletstiwa, Lomashihkuiwa, and Lomawungyai wore on their heads a thick cluster of white fluffy feathers and parrot feathers. All the other thirteen priests, including the chief and assistant chief priests, wore a similar headdress stained red, but without the addition of the parrot feathers.

Polihungwa now left the Antelope kiva and inquired down the hatchway of the kiva if the Snake men were ready. He received an affirmative reply and returned to his kiva. He now took up his *tiponi* from the northwest corner of the altar, which he held by its base in his left hand which rested against his body, and in his right hand he took up a rattle (see Pl. CXVI); the assistant chief priest, Shakventiwa, took up the other *tiponi* and a rattle (see Pl. CXVII). Sikanakpu, the asperger, now took his medicine bowl with its cottonwood wreath, holding it in his left hand, with a rattle in his right (see Pl. CXVIII). All the other priests had provided themselves with two rattles each from the Antelope kiva except Shakhungwa (see Pl. CXIX), Namurziwa, Qōmāletstiwa and Lomashihkuiwa, who took their *mongwikurus* in one hand and a rattle in the other. Lomawungyai took up the bundle of green corn and two black *chochopkiata*. The priests were now ready to depart and, a moment later, at half-past six o'clock, they filed out of the kiva one by one, those in front of the line coming to a stop just outside until all had left the kiva. They now stood for a minute, all rattling vigorously, and then set out at a rapid, yet dignified, pace for the central plaza, which they entered, passed along near the east wall until they reached the end of the plaza on the north, when they turned back, describing an elliptical curve almost equal to the sides of the plaza. As they now advanced on toward the east on the south side of the kiva they passed in front of the *kisi*, where each man violently stamped each time with his right foot upon the *sipapu* and deposited thereon a pinch of meal. The line also passed the two shrines of Timanapvi and Bahoki, upon

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PL. CXVI. CHIEF PRIEST OF THE ANTELOPE FRATERNITY.

In his left hand he holds one of the Antelope *tiponis*, and in the other the Antelope rattle.



CHIEF PRIEST OF THE ANTELOPE FRATERNITY.



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PL. CXVII.

Assistant chief priest of the Antelope fraternity (Albino).



ASSISTANT CHIEF PRIEST OF THE ANTELOPE FRATERNITY (ALBINO).





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PL. CXVIII. ANTELOPE PRIEST, ASPERGER.

In his left hand he holds a medicine bowl and aspergil resting on a cottonwood wreath; in his right hand is an Antelope rattle; around his two wrists and around his head are cottonwood wreaths.



ANTELOPE PRIEST.



PL. CXIX. PRIEST OF THE ANTELOPE FRATERNITY.

One of the four men who carry in the line of the dancers a *mongwikuru*. These men also wear yarn bandoleers and a woman's belt, in addition to an ordinary Antelope costume.



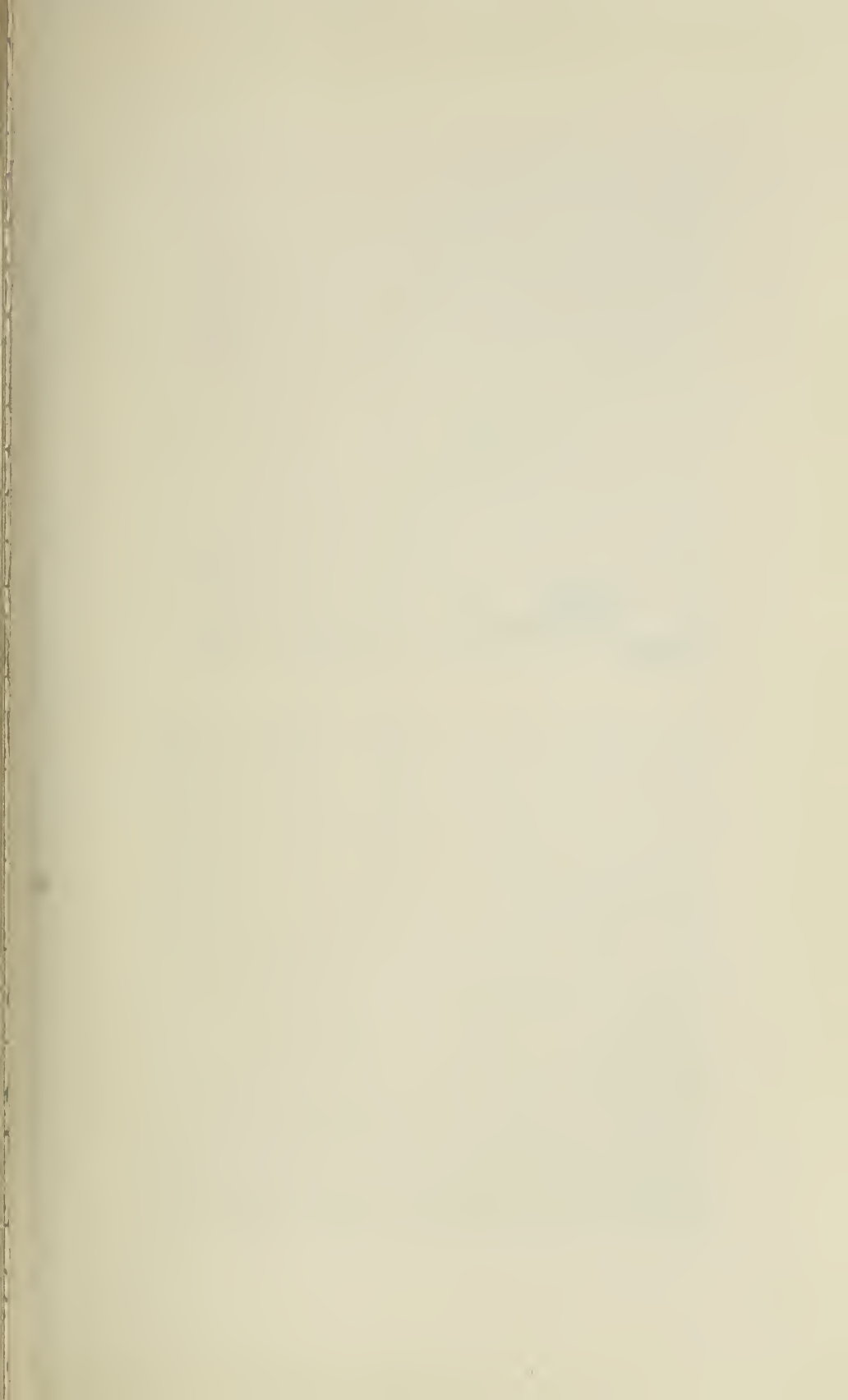
PRIEST OF THE ANTELOPE FRATERNITY.

both of which was cast a pinch of meal without halting, the line continuing its march on past the *kisi* to the east end of the plaza, where they again turned to the north and to the west, and again described the circuit, only of smaller extent, but passing both shrines and the *kisi*, where the performance already described was again repeated, and so likewise the third circuit was completed, smaller than the second, and the fourth circuit still smaller, when they lined up in front of the *kisi* facing the north. As the line was now formed the chief priest was at the south end with Lomawungyai just in front of the *kisi*, with the smallest and youngest priest at the north end of the line. They now began to shake their rattles. At this time the chief priest held his *tiponi* in his left hand and his rattle in his right, with Shakventiwa holding the other *tiponi* in his left hand, and a rattle in his right. Sikanakpu held the medicine bowl in his left hand and in his right the aspergil.

In the meantime the Snake priests had finished their preparation, each one taking up in the right hand a snake whip and a small buckskin meal bag which they took in the left hand. They now filed out of the kiva with Lomanakshu in the lead. As soon as he had gained the summit of the kiva he removed the Snake *aoatnatsi* from its position (see Pl. XCIX, *d*) and now held it in his hand. The assistant chief Snake priest immediately on gaining exit from the kiva went over to the Antelope kiva and there removed the Antelope *aoatnatsi* from its position. As rapidly as the Snake priests emerged they formed in line, for a moment shaking their snake whips with a short quick motion in front of them, the arm hanging almost rigid at the side of the body.

They then began the march to the main plaza, where they entered at the southeast corner as had the Antelope priests, whereupon they passed by, toward the north, passing the Tiwanapvi and Banhopi shrines, dropping on each one of them a pinch of meal, and so on up to the north end plaza, where they turned west, and straight back for the southern end, passing as they did so the line of the Antelope priests and stamping violently with the left foot upon the *sipapu*, upon which they also sprinkled meal. Then they also made a constantly diminishing circuit of the kiva for three and one-half times, halting as they turned toward the north on the last circuit, in line and in front of and facing the Antelope priests with the head of the Snake line opposite the lowest end of the Antelope line. Thus the two priests were at diagonally opposite ends of the two lines. The Snake priests now in position, the Antelopes continued rattling for about a minute. Then the Antelope priests shook their rattles

while the Snake priests waved their whips in their hand with a movement which extended from right to left with a slightly upward and downward motion for a few moments, their left hand with the meal bag hanging rigid by the side of their body. Then both lines danced, shaking the rattles and whips and also singing in a low deep sonorous voice. The dancing was simply a backward and forward swaying movement of the body with a vigorous stamping with the right heel upon the earth, the toes of that foot not leaving the ground. The tendency of this movement was to jar vigorously the turtle-shell rattles upon the legs, and it formed an accompaniment to the singing not unpleasing. Then the dancing and the singing ceased and the Antelope priests continued shaking their rattles accompanied by the Snake priests moving the whips. This was again followed by dancing and then the singing and rattling, and so on with scarcely a pause or break in the performance, each act having been repeated during the course of the entire ceremony eight times. Sikanakpu asperged and shouted in a loud voice, resembling a weird moan, from time to time. The performance was continued now for a period of about fifteen minutes. The line of Snake priests now retired to a distance of about ten feet from the line of the Antelope men. Hereupon Lomawungyai, an Antelope priest, and Tobenyakioma, a Snake priest, stepped forward from their respective lines into the space between the lines, the latter placing his arm around the Antelope man's body, with his left hand on his shoulder. In this hand the Snake man held his whip and meal bag which he slowly waved up and down by the side of the cheek of the Antelope priest. In this manner they slowly moved in a circle in front of the *kisi* four times, whereupon they stooped down in front of the *kisi* and the Antelope priest took from the *kisi* the bunches of green corn and melon vines which had been prepared earlier in the day. The end of this he now placed in his mouth, the Snake man supporting the lower end of it with his right hand, and thus the two resumed their dance in an irregular circuit in front of the *kisi*, and passing back and forth between the lines four times, being asperged each time as they passed Sikanakpu. It is perhaps not proper to speak of their motion as a dance, inasmuch as it was a shuffling gait in which the feet rhythmically left the ground, the movement being accompanied by a forward jerking motion of the body. During all this time the two platoons of priests were stepping backward and forward, all in unison, the Antelope priests singing louder and louder and violently shaking their rattles, while the Snake priests went through the step with interlocked arms, but with their snake whips at rest. At the conclusion of the song the two men who had been dancing between the lines returned to the *kisi*, where the





a



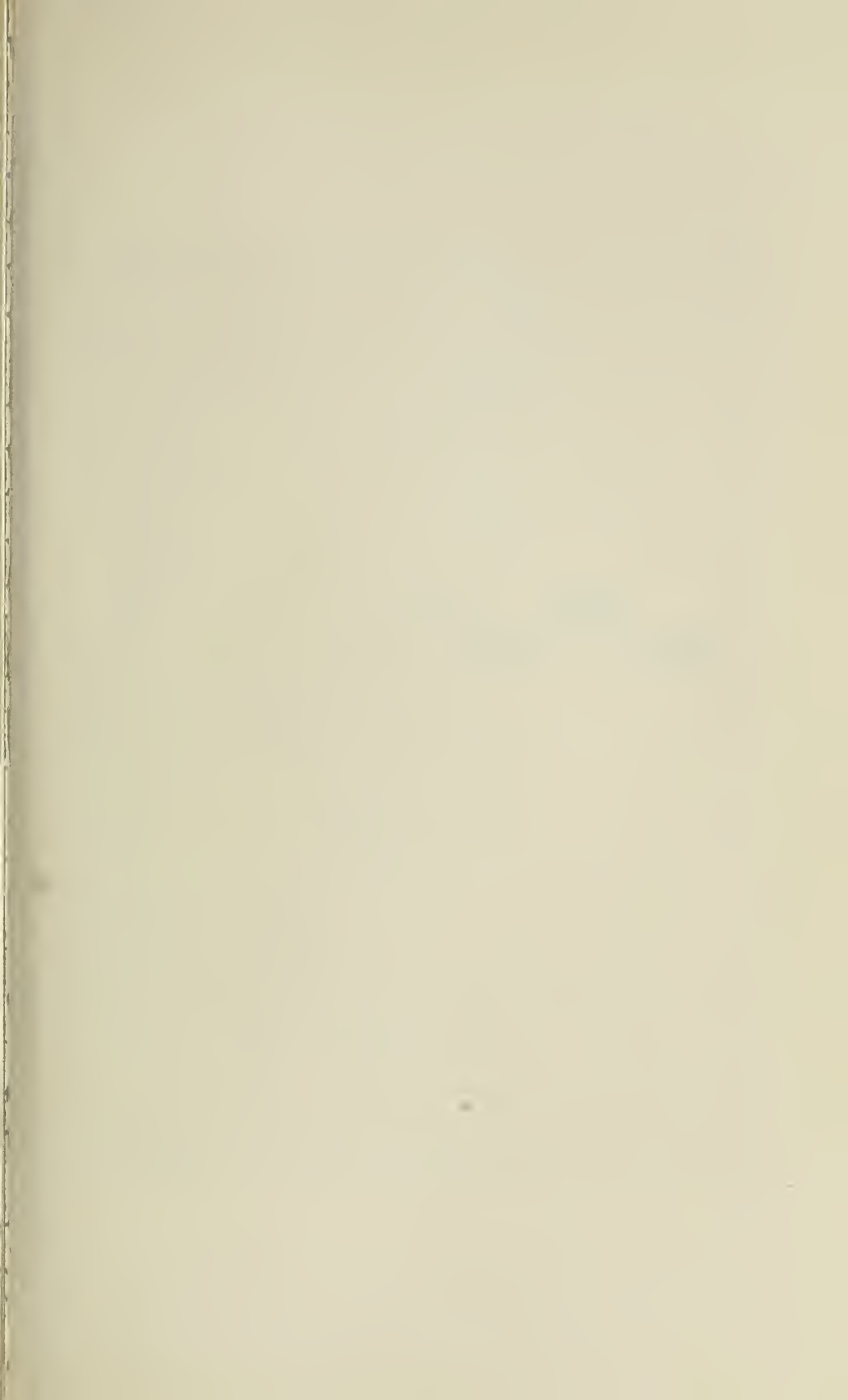
b

INTERIOR OF SNAKE KIVA.

PL. CXX. INTERIOR OF SNAKE KIVA.

a. At the rear end of the kiva may be seen the four receptacles in which the snakes are confined during the ceremony; in front and to the left are the bull-roarers and lightning frames, where they remain from the conclusion of the performance on the morning of the eighth until the morning of the ninth day.

b. The walls of the kiva are covered with clothing of the Snake priests, brought into the kiva on the morning of the ninth day. The three large stones in the corner of the kiva were removed from a niche in the wall on this morning by the priests in searching for one of the snakes which had escaped from one of the receptacles.





EXTERIOR OF THE SNAKE KIVA.

PL. CXXI. EXTERIOR OF THE SNAKE KIVA.

Upon the ladder poles may be seen the foxskins, there placed by the priests at the conclusion of the Antelope dance on the afternoon of the eighth day, where they remain until required on the afternoon of the ninth day.

bundle was passed back into the *kisi*, whereupon the other bundle was passed out and they repeated the performance, when this bundle also was returned to the *kisi* by Tobenyakioma, stepping over Lomawungyai as he did so. The men then resumed their places in the lines. The Antelope priests now continued rattling, while the Snake men wheeled and began describing four circuits about the plaza, the first one on this occasion being the smallest, and making meal offerings to the two shrines, and stamping upon the *sipapu* they returned in single file to their kiva; the chief priest and the assistant chief priest remained a moment while the former restored the Snake *aótnatsi* to its original position on the kiva ladder, the latter laying the Antelope *aótnatsi* on the hatchway of the Antelope kiva.

As the last Snake priest had disappeared from the plaza the Antelope men wheeled about and also made the four circuits of the plaza. They also sprinkled the shrines and the *sipapus* as had the Snakes, while Sikanakpu asperged each time as they passed these places. They also now returned to their kiva, Polihungwa remaining a moment while he restored his *aótnatsi* to its position.

Within the kivas the priests of both fraternities began now at once disrobing, the Snake priests hanging their garments on pegs on the kiva wall (see Pl. CXX, *b*), taking their fox-skins outside the kiva and fastening them just beneath the *natsi* on the ladder poles (see Pl. XCIX, *a* and *b*), where they were to remain till required for the dance on the following day. The reason assigned for this is that when they hang outside and the air passes through, the hair stands out in better shape. Some of them engaged in fraternal smoking about the hearth, while others left the kiva for food for the evening meal.

It may be noted here that this is the last food which the Snake men are supposed to partake of until after the final purification ceremony on the evening of the next day. Up to this time, however, the Snake priests have not been restricted in their diet. The chief priest, however, is not supposed to eat any seasoned food on the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth days. There is no regulation governing the food of the Antelope priests. Both Antelope priests and Snake priests, however, are supposed, under penalty, to remain continent for the nine ceremonial days and the four days following. The evening meal being concluded in both kivas, fraternal smoking was continued into the evening on the part of certain of the priests: but aside from this there were no further ceremonies during this day. All priests of both fraternities are supposed to sleep in or on the kiva during this night, while the two chief priests sleep in the kiva during the four following nights.

NINTH DAY (TIKIVE, DANCING DAY) AUGUST 21.

The singing of the eight traditional songs took place as usual and at the accustomed hour this morning in the Antelope kiva. It was noticed that not only the members within both the Antelope and the Snake kivas had this morning washed their heads in yucca suds and besmeared their faces with red paint, but that many others in the village had also washed their heads. Polihungwa had deposited two snake rattles on the altar, one at the northeast, the other at the northwest corner of the mosaic. During the singing of the songs the naked, barefooted men had, as on the previous morning, been departing, one at a time, down the side of the mesa to a point in the distant plain toward the east, where the start for the race was to be made this morning as before. The race on this day is referred to as the Snake race, although Polihungwa claims that it is simply called *yuhtukngwu* (race), the same as the one on the previous day.

During this time also the small boys and girls of the village began to assemble on the lower terrace, getting ready for the scramble when the girls were to wrest the cornstalks from the boys' hands as on the previous morning. The animation throughout the village was much greater than it was on the preceding morning, and down on the ledge were, in addition to the children, many adults, in which crowd old women predominated. The girls who were to scramble with the boys had in some instances the small red-and-white blankets, but were not painted. The costume of the larger boys was very simple and consisted of a *sakwavitkuna* only. They, as well as the smaller boys, had white bands around the upper and lower limbs and body; their hands, feet and faces were also daubed white.

It is necessary now to return to the Antelope kiva for the conclusion of the singing ceremony where certain features not described for the ceremony on the previous morning may be noted (see Pl. CXXII). During one of the songs Namurztiwa left the kiva with a green and red baho and a single green baho to which were attached two nakwakwosis. These were given him by one of the priests and were deposited in a shrine (see Pl. CXXIII). An incident now occurred which perhaps is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it reveals a certain prescribed formality in regard to the removal from the kiva of certain objects. One of the chiefs, Shakventiwa, started to take from the kiva an old rabbit-skin rope and was about to ascend the ladder when he was spoken to by Sikangpu, whereupon he returned and Sikangpu sprinkled a pinch of meal on it from the meal tray; he was then permitted to depart. There were now in the kiva the following priests: Lomanakshu, Polihungwa, Sikangpu and Sikanakpu.

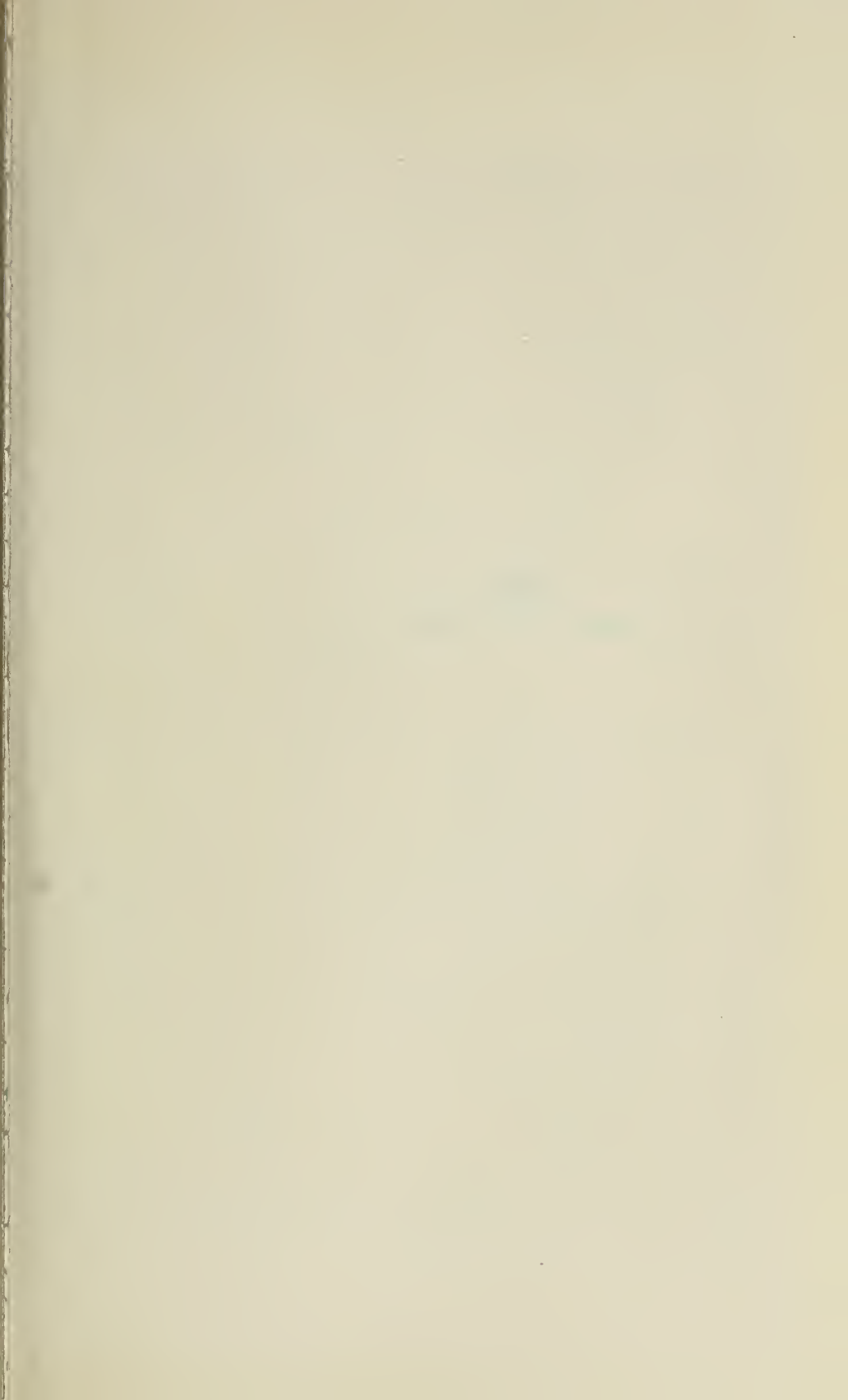


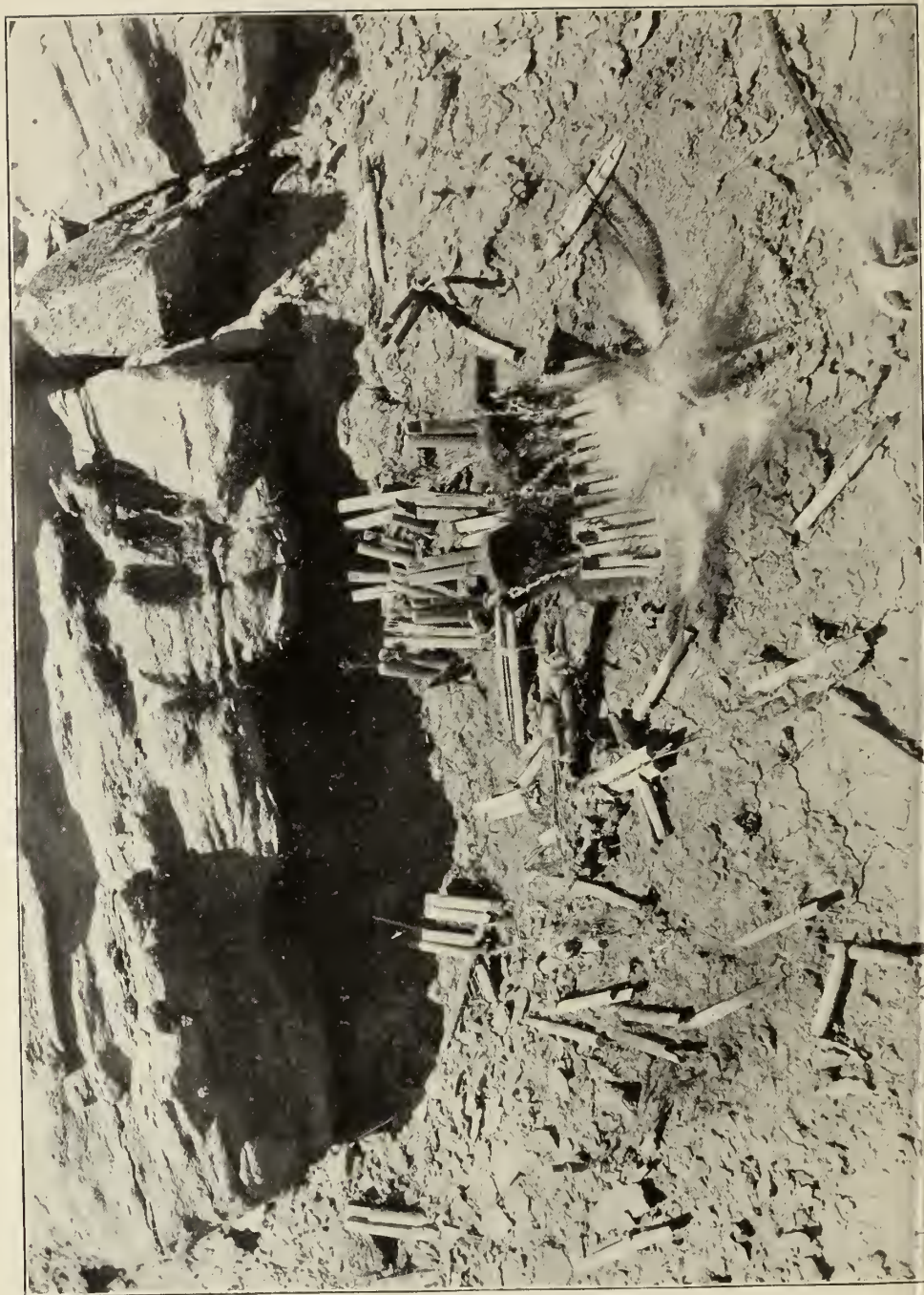
PL. CXXII.

The Antelope kiva during the singing of the eight traditional songs.



THE ANTELOPE KIVA DURING THE SINGING OF THE EIGHT TRADITIONAL SONGS.





PL. CXXIII.

Shrine where bahos are deposited.

The two Kalehtakas were now heard above the kiva whirling the bull roars, but they did not enter. Lomanakshu made a long speech or prayer and Namurziwa, who had just entered, then began to relate in a low and subdued tone an account of his trip. Two priests now entered the kiva and kneeling by the hearth, each took a pinch of ashes between the thumb and forefinger, upon which they spat, twirling the hands in a circular motion, and then cast the ashes up the ladder. This is called *nawuhchingwu* (discharming).

At half-past five there was no sign of life in the Snake kiva, the priests being asleep either inside or on the roof of the kiva. In the Antelope kiva the singing ceremony had just been concluded. Talamössi now came in, handing a nakwakwosi to Polihungwa, who tied it to the top of one of the eagle feathers in the *tiponi* of the northeast side of the altar. She now dressed the hair of the maid in the usual whorls of the virgin, whereupon she took up a pinch of ashes from the hearth, spat on it, made a circular motion four times and then cast the meal upwards toward the hatchway.

At a few minutes after six o'clock Namurziwa appeared at the head of the trail leading to the first terrace, bearing a *mongwikuru* and a small black wheel. He now deposited on the trail a road-marker or *pühtavi*, upon which he sprinkled meal and a line toward the village. The winner of the race, Talahkuiwa, on this morning was the same young man who won it on the previous morning, and as he passed by Namurziwa he took from him the *mongwikuru* and black wheel and ran on at full speed toward the Antelope kiva. Soon after the two Kalehtakas appeared and many of the racers. Soon after the winner had reached the first ledge of the mesa where the spectators awaited the racers, Namurziwa also arrived there. He first sprinkled a little meal on the ground and placed two road-markers on it, sprinkled a pinch of meal on it again and then sprinkled a short line toward the village. He then awaited the arrival of the first Kalehtaka, who, when he had arrived, first shot his lightning frame and twirled his bull roarer, and then awaited the arrival of the second Kalehtaka, who repeated the performance of the first. During these performances nearly all of the racers had arrived at the edge of the mesa, where they sat down, bathed in perspiration and panting for breath. When the Kalehtakas were through, each of them uttered a brief prayer, whereupon they started for the kivas, the participants in the race following them. In the kiva they seated themselves with the others, most of whom were smoking. Prayers were uttered by Namurziwa, the Snake chief, the Antelope chief and Sikanakpu. Being through with this devotional smoking, the Snake chief picked up his snake whip and snake bag and, after a parting wish or prayer

by Sikanakpu and Polihungwa, left the kiva, going to his own kiva. The total number of racers on this morning was sixty-three (Pl. CXXXIV, *a*, *b*, *c*).

Talahkuiwa, the winner of the race, having arrived at the kiva, stamped three times with his foot as on the previous morning, whereupon the Antelope priest came up and received from him the *mongwikuru* and wheel, which were taken into the kiva and were consecrated and other rites performed over them as on the previous morning, whereupon Talahkuiwa took them to his field, where, making a small hole in the ground, he emptied the water from the *mongwikuru*, closed the hole and over it he placed the wheel. The *mongwikuru* he returned to the Antelope kiva.

The Antelope priests now assembled in their kiva for breakfast, while preparations began in the Snake kiva for the afternoon performance. Here the priests now began to drop in from time to time, some of them bearing snake whips (see Pl. CXXIV) and bags, and many carrying gourds. The bags were deposited in a pile near the hearth. Two of the priests, Yóshiima and Kiwanyoshia, brought in on their backs two buckskins, whereupon the older priests assembled in a semicircle about the hearth, Lomanakshu lighting a pipe. After smoking for several minutes he took up the bags, one by one, in his hands and smoked over them four times, whereupon the bags were carried out by Yóshiima and were taken to the house of the Snake Woman, where their contents, consisting of various herbs, are to be used by her in the preparation of the snake emetic. Yóshiima and Kiwanyoshia now returned, bringing back the empty buckskin wrappers in an old blanket, which were deposited in the southwest corner of the kiva.

By ten o'clock nearly all the Snake priests had again departed for the fields, where they spent two hours searching for beetles, which were also said to be used for the snake emetic. The Snake priests, including the chief, who remained behind, engaged in smoking about the hearth and exchanged terms of relationship.

In the Antelope kiva the owners of the four *mongwikurus* had taken them up and had emptied a little of the water from them upon the cloud symbol. (See Pl. CXXV.) They then removed the *mongwikurus* to their houses. The corn stalks, melon vines, etc., had also been taken from the *batni* by Polihungwa, who had deposited them in his corn field. It was also noticed that on the rain and cloud symbols and on the bodies of the four lightning symbols were the imprints of finger marks. This had been done during the forenoon. During the morning performance yellow pollen had also been sprinkled on the heads of the four lightning symbols. In front of the



PL. CXXIV. INTERIOR OF THE SNAKE KIVA.

At the rear and in the center of the kiva are the snake whips and other snake paraphernalia brought into the kiva on the morning of this day.





PL. CXXV. INTERIOR OF ANTELOPE KIVA.

Upon the mosaic have been deposited pinches of meal and pollen, until it is partially covered. Water from the *mongwikurus* has been poured upon the cloud symbols. All the bahos have been carried out to their respective shrines except the long, black snake-bahos, which are to be carried in the hands of the Snake priests during the dance on this day.





PL. CXXXIV. INCIDENTS OF SNAKE RACE, ETC.

- a.* Warrior shooting lightning frame.
- b.* Boys awaiting arrival of racers.
- c.* After the Snake race.
- d.* Snake priest removing the snake aoátnatsi.



b



d

INCIDENTS OF SNAKE RACE, ETC.

mosaic was noticed a large ear of corn nearly covered by a very large growth of fungus. On the northeast corner of the mosaic stood an Antelope rattle in a yucca tray, while the small *mongwikuru* rested in a tray at the southeast corner of the mosaic. The priests had taken those bahos which had been made for that special purpose with them to their fields, peach orchards, etc., first, however, taking from the mosaic a pinch of one or more colors of sand, both of which they deposited. Thus the finger marks, noticed on the mosaic, were now accounted for. The two whips were found lying just north of the mosaic and to the east of the *tiponi* on the west corner. The four *mongwikurus*, containing water, had been taken along by their owners to the fields, the water from which was poured upon the ground. There were now left in the kiva, one green baho with a double nakwakwosi attachment which later was to be deposited with the water from the medicine bowl in a dancing shrine, and the twenty long black *chochopkis*, which are to be held later in the day in the public dance by the Snake men, and which will eventually be deposited in the four world quarters along with the snakes at the conclusion of the ceremony. During the absence of the Antelope priests in their fields where they deposited the bahos, Sikanakpu remained behind and smoked from time to time over the tray containing the black *chochopkis*.

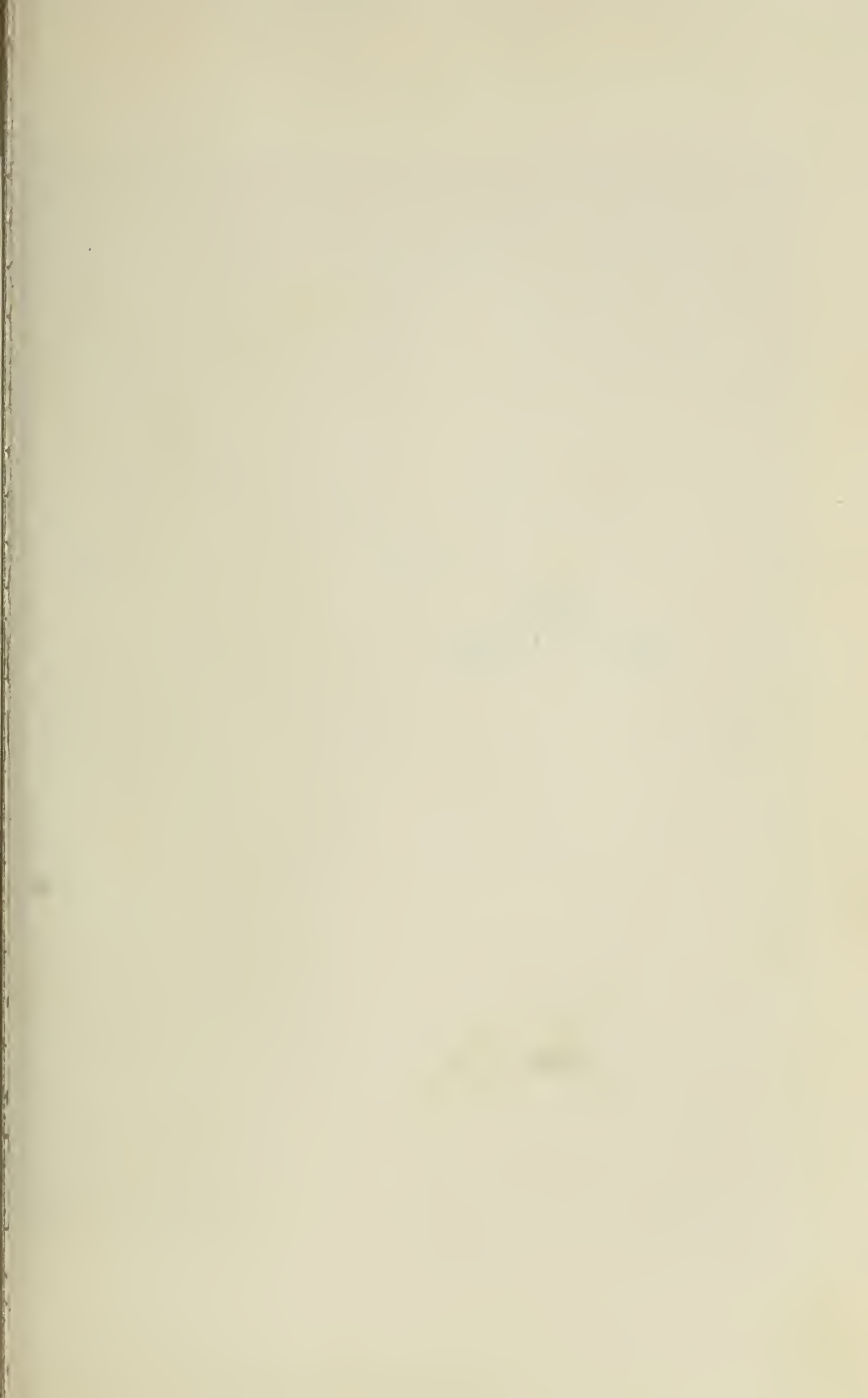
At twenty minutes of two Lomanakshu left the Snake kiva with three young boys, and soon returned bringing in on his back a blanket full of sand which he had obtained from the sand hills west of the mesa. He also bore a large gourd filled with water. Those who had not already done so earlier in the morning now left the kiva for the purpose of washing their heads in yucca suds, being cautioned by the chief priests not to drink any water. One of the boys whose face had been painted white, and who bore in his hand an ear of corn, sprinkled meal on the snake jars. Those priests, who were not otherwise engaged, continued the repairing of their garments for the afternoon performance as on the previous day.

The men in the Snake kiva now took up the stone stands used during ordinary occasions for supporting the weaving frames, and which had been piled up in a corner of the kiva, and arranged them in a straight line on the main floor of the kiva and about three feet from the east wall, beginning at the platform and extending them toward the end of the kiva almost up to the four snake receptacles. Inside of the inclosure thus formed Lomanakshu now emptied the blanket of sand which the boys spread out over the surface to the depth of from one-half to one inch.

At a quarter of three the smaller boys began to transfer the

snakes from the four receptacles into the sacks. The snakes beneath the jar and the wooden box, of course, were easily released, these two receptacles being lifted up, whereupon the snakes were grabbed up in an exceedingly reckless manner and without the slightest hesitation on the part of the boys, and thrust into the jars. To obtain the snakes from the two large water bottles, however, was a more difficult task. The cobs stopping up the jars being removed, some of the snakes attempted to escape, but of course were immediately picked up and thrust into the bags. Then a long eagle feather was thrust into the hole in the upper side of the jar and gradually the snakes were all induced to leave the jars and were transferred. During this time certain of the priests sat about the hearth and indulged in fraternal smoking. Sosónkiwa now placed around his body the skin of an antelope and on his head a knitted cap, and otherwise assumed the costume of a Kalehtaka. He then made near the center of the sand field three straight lines which crossed each other equi-distant at their middle. On these he now placed a large earthenware vessel which he had recently brought into the kiva, first waving it toward the six directions. Water was now poured into it from the large gourd vessel which Lomanakshu had brought in, and which had been obtained at Toreva Spring, first waving the jug from the six directions towards the center. There were now carried on the initiatory rites of two of the children, Hopöonga and Riyaoma by name. Concerning these initiation rites it was ascertained that the novitiates had first been taken to the houses of their "fathers," *i. e.*, the men who were acting as their sponsors in the initiation, but are forever afterwards called father by them. Here their *tumcis*, *i. e.*, the women belonging to the same clan as the candidate, had first washed the heads of the latter and given them their new names and a white corn ear. Hereupon they were taken to the kiva where they first sprinkled meal on the snakes. When the men got ready to bathe the snakes these novitiates took a position at the northwest corner of the sand field, on which the snakes were afterwards thrown. They held in their right hand a snake whip, in their left a corn ear. Just before the snake washing commenced they were asked by their sponsors, it is thought, for their new names, which they gave. The interrogator said: "Anchaa, yan um machiowahkang, woyomik uh katci nawaḱawin tani." (Yes, all right, thus being named may your life be long!) They then assisted in the bathing of the snakes. Hopöonga's sponsor was Homiwushyoma, Riyaoma's was Nakwayeshwa.

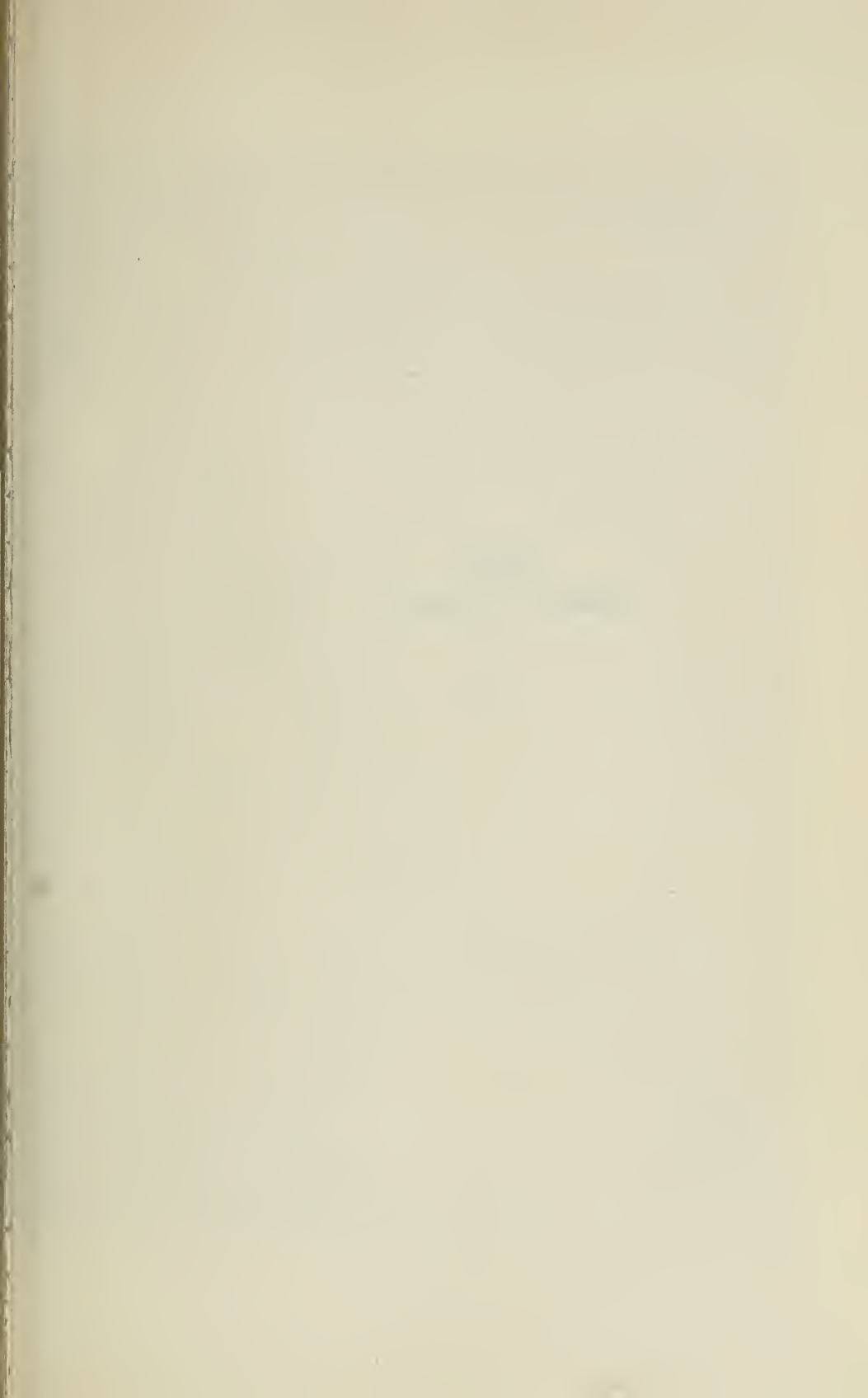
All the priests had in the meantime seated themselves on the stones. In this position they were closely crowded together. They were all naked, with their hair hanging loosely down their backs;





PL. CXXVI. SNAKE WASHING.

The Kalehtaka about to plunge a handful of snakes into the medicine bowl.
Behind him are standing the two warriors.

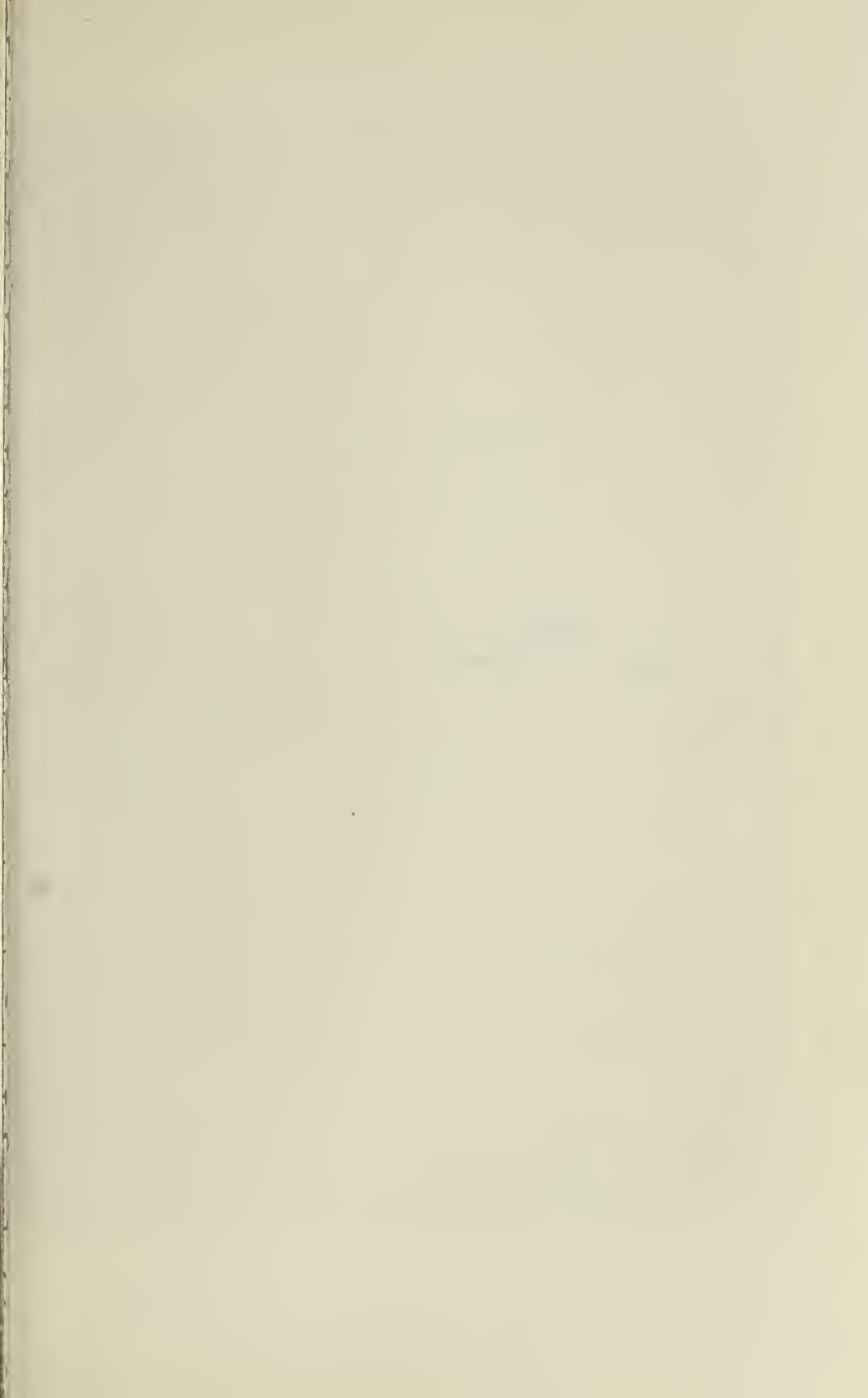




PL. CXXVII. THE SNAKE WASHING.

The Snake priests resting and indulging in fraternal smoking after the washing of the snakes.

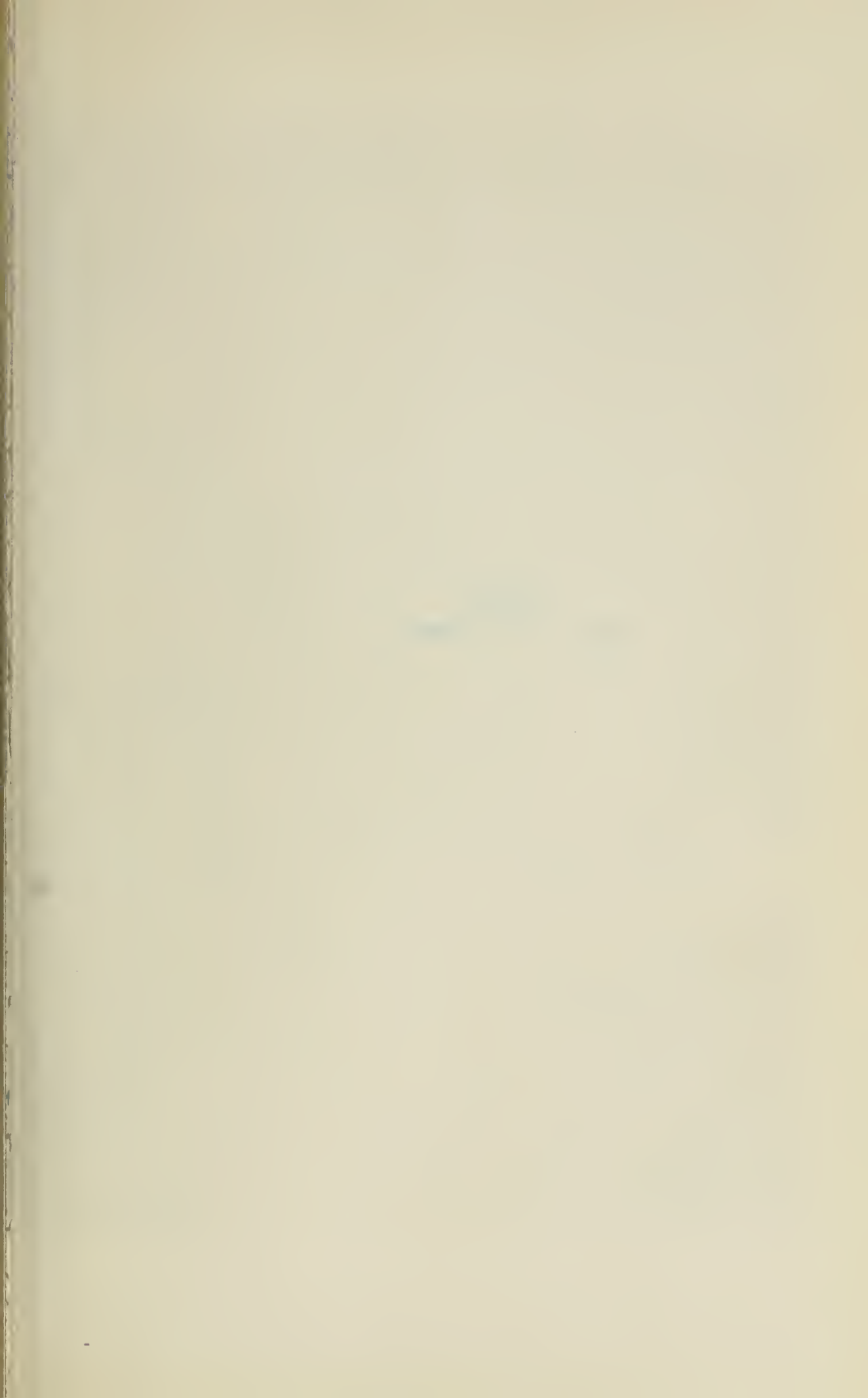






PL. CXXVIII. THE SNAKE WASHING.

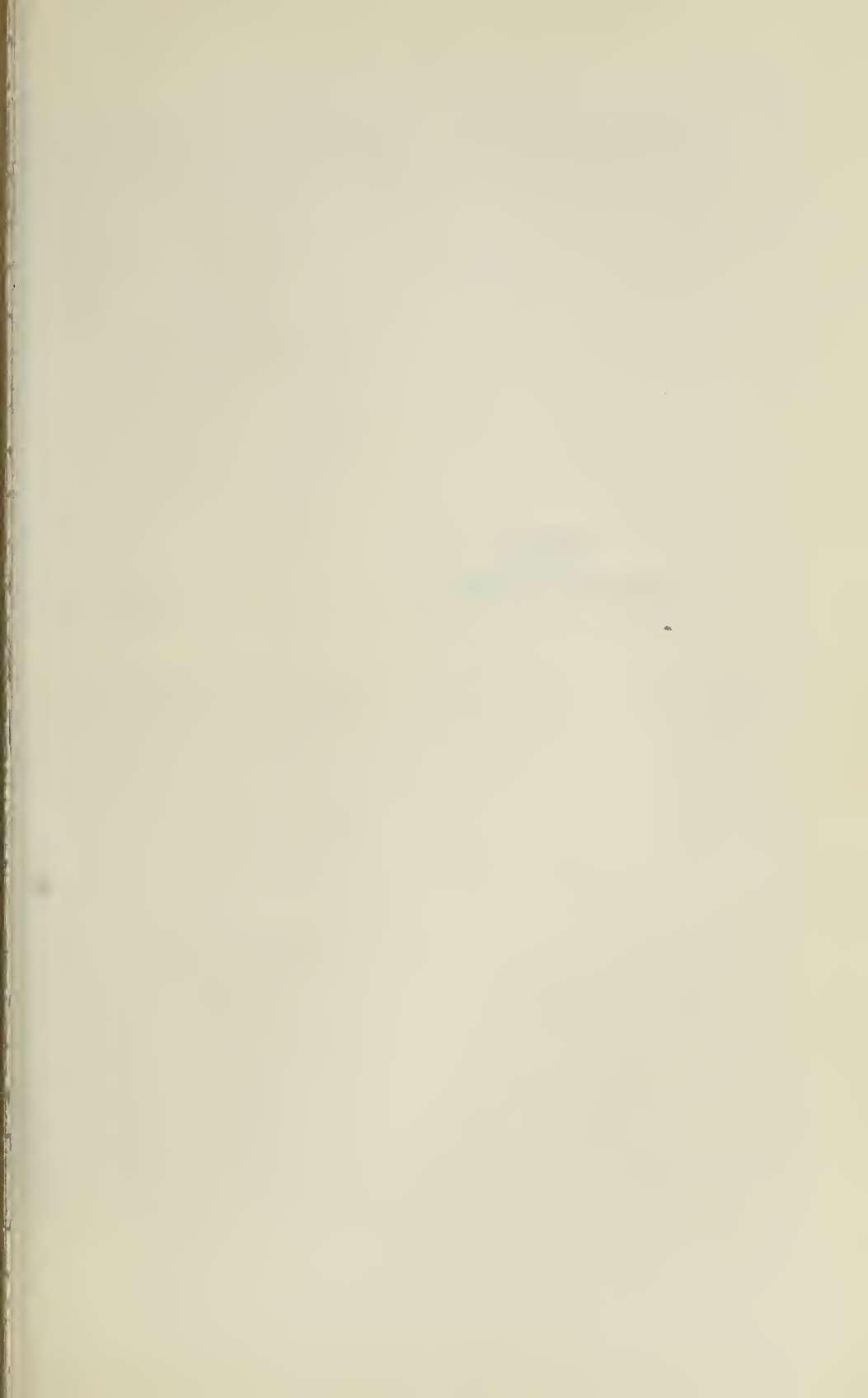
Lománakshu, chief Snake priest, uttering a prayer.

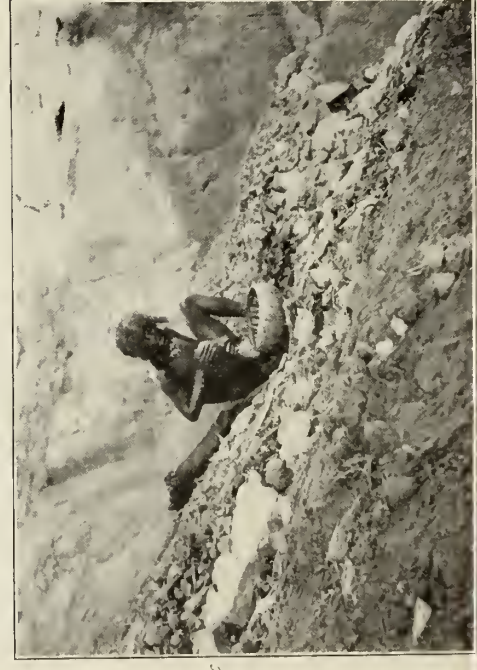
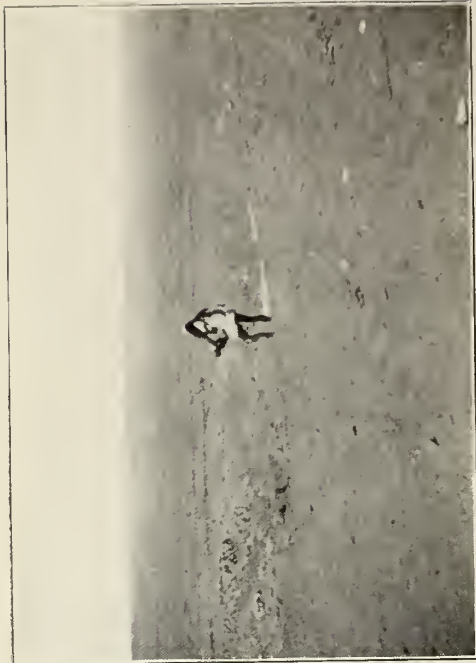




PL. CXXIX. THE SNAKE WASHING.

Boys guarding the snakes.





PL. CXXX. INCIDENTS OF THE NINTH DAY.

- a.* The Kalehtaka leaving the Snake kiva with the bowl of medicine water after the washing of the snakes.
- b.* The Kalehtaka depositing a portion of the water from the medicine bowl at the head of the north trail.
- c.* Snake priest washing after the Snake dance and before the drinking of the emetic.
- d.* Snake priest depositing snakes and bahos.



a



b



SHRINES IN WHICH ARE DEPOSITED THE SNAKE RECEPTACLES AFTER THE CEREMONY.

PL. CXXXI. SHRINES IN WHICH ARE DEPOSITED THE SNAKE RECEPTACLES AFTER THE
CEREMONY.

- a.* The image in front, leaning against the box, is an effigy of Kohkang-wuhti, Spider Woman.
- b.* An older place of deposit, to the left of the one shown above.



THE GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND EXHIBITION, 1871



THE GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND EXHIBITION, 1871

their bare feet rested on the sand field. Sosónkiwa, dressed as a Kalehtaka, assumed a position near the center of the line. The bags of snakes were brought to his side now by one of the men, whereupon Lomanakshu uttered a prayer, when Homiwushyoma followed with this prayer: "Yes, all right! Yes, we work here with our animals. This way we have here our ceremonies, here with our fathers. Later they will again be released. May we be glad! May we be strong. May we be watchful. Yes, that way." All now beat their whips, and the priest, who sat next to Lomanakshu, vigorously shook an antelope rattle. The Kalehtaka now plunged his hand into a sack containing the largest of the snakes and drew out a handful, which he then plunged into the bowl of medicine water and dropped them down in front of him on the sand field. Two of the men, Luke and Nakwayeshwa, stood behind the Kalehtaka, waving whips. The snakes were now passed in handfuls to the Kalehtaka, who plunged them into the water and cast them upon the sand field, the priests waving their whips vigorously and all the while rapidly singing a song which was now weird, now low and with slow measure, now faster, and now more vigorous (see Pl. CXXVI). Naturally, as the snakes were dropped upon the sand field many of them attempted to escape, starting rapidly, trying to crawl away between the feet and knees of the priests, in which case they were pushed back by the whips or grasped with the hands and placed on the sand field. The performance concluded by the priests dropping their whips, and those who wore *hurunkwas* took them off and cast them also in among the snakes on the sand field. It was now noticed that only three of the priests in the entire line wore no *hurunkwa*, while three of the priests and one boy had no bandoleer. At the conclusion of the washing of the snakes, the Kalehtaka took up the bowl of water and carried it out of the kiva, where he made a sinistral circuit of the village, pouring a portion of the water at the head of each trail (see Pl. CXXIX, *a* and *b*). Later, the four receptacles, which had until now confined the snakes, were carried out and deposited on a ledge of rock at the west of the village, where may be seen many similar jars used in former years (see Pl. CXXXI).

The older priests assembled in a circle around the hearth, where they engaged in fraternal smoking (see Pl. CXXVIII), the care of keeping the snakes confined to the sand field being left to three or four of the smallest boys. This they did for two hours with unfailling pleasure and delight (see Pls. CXXVIII and CXXIX). These boys, barefooted and otherwise entirely naked, sat down on the stones and with their whips or naked hands played with the snakes, permitting them to crawl over and under their feet, between their legs, handling

them, using them as playthings, paying no more attention to the rattlesnakes than to the smallest harmless whip-snake, forming a sight never to be forgotten. It must be admitted, however, that owing to the absolute abandon and recklessness used by the boys in handling these snakes, all of one's preconceived notions of the dangerousness of the rattlesnake entirely disappeared. Occasionally, one of the snakes, being tossed to a distance of four or five feet, would apparently resent the insult, but before the snake had had sufficient time to coil it would be straightened out by one of the other boys or tossed back to its original position, and so the sport (for it was nothing less to these boys) continued, as has been stated, for more than two hours.

At about five o'clock in the afternoon the Snake priests began preparations, as on the day before, for the public performance in the plaza, which on this day is known as the Snake dance. With the soot from the bottom of an old cooking vessel, the priests blackened their bodies, not uniformly, however, over the entire surface, with a deep black. The face was also painted black, with a pink spot on the forehead, while the surface under the chin was painted white. On the outer upper and lower arms, the shoulders, the back of the shoulders, the center of the back, over the navel and on each side of the breast, was now daubed a large, pinkish-colored spot. The legs above the knees were painted black, while a pink spot was now placed on the outside of the leg just above the knee. Over that portion of the face which had been blackened was rubbed specular iron. The costume of the Snake priests consisted of the *tcuuitkuna* (snake kilt), the *totoriki* (bandoleer), *hurunkwa* (a hollow stick with different kinds of feathers attached to it), the *nakwa ita* (a bunch of owl feathers and a bunch of eagle breast feathers, to the tips of which are tied bluebird feathers), the *mashmiata* (arm bands, made of the bark of a cottonwood root and worn on the upper arms), a *sikahtay pūkaat* (fox-skin), suspended behind from the belt, a *wokokwāwa* ("big belt"), which is a fringed buckskin sash and a pair of red moccasins with fringed ankle bands. It should be remarked, however, that in a few instances the one or the other of these objects was missing. Each dancer also had a *ngumanmomokpu* (meal bag) and a *tcūwowahpi* (snake whip), and some had wrist-bands of various kinds. Lomanakshu had already removed the snakes in two bags to the *kisi* and now brought in from the Antelope kiva the black *chochopkis*.

The Antelope priests had in the meantime also been preparing for the dance. Inasmuch as there was considerable variation in the costumes of the Antelope priests, the following table has been prepared which shows at a glance the variations among the individual members. Numbers refer to the numbered list of participants:

COSTUMES OF ANTELOPE DANCERS ON NINTH DAY.

*No.	1.	(Chief Priest.)	Kilt, sash, fox skin, anklets, } arm bands, with either } yarn on both legs, none on wrists, beads.
No. 2.	"	"	"
No. 3.	"	"	"
No. 4.	"	"	"
No. 5.	"	"	"
No. 6.	"	"	"
No. 7.	"	"	"
No. 8.	"	"	"
No. 9.	"	"	"
No. 10.	"	"	"
No. 11.	"	"	"
No. 12.	"	"	"
No. 13.	"	"	"
No. 14.	"	"	"
†No. 15.†	"	"	"
‡No. 16.	"	"	"
No. 17.	"	"	"
No. 18.	"	"	"
‡No. 19.	"	"	"
‡No. 20.	"	"	"
No. 21.	"	"	"

*No. 1 held Antelope natsi.

†No. 15 held Snake *natsi*.

††Had cottonwood branch thrust behind sash.

The Antelope priests were painted up as follows: The entire body was daubed slightly black except the chin, which was thickly covered with a black pigment. A white line, made with white kaolin, was drawn from cheek to cheek over the upper lip, white zigzag lines on each upper arm and upper leg and each side of the chest. The lower parts of the arms and legs were also painted a deeper black than the rest of the body. The white markings on the bodies were the same as were on the old men and smaller boys the previous day. (See the various plates bearing on this subject.)

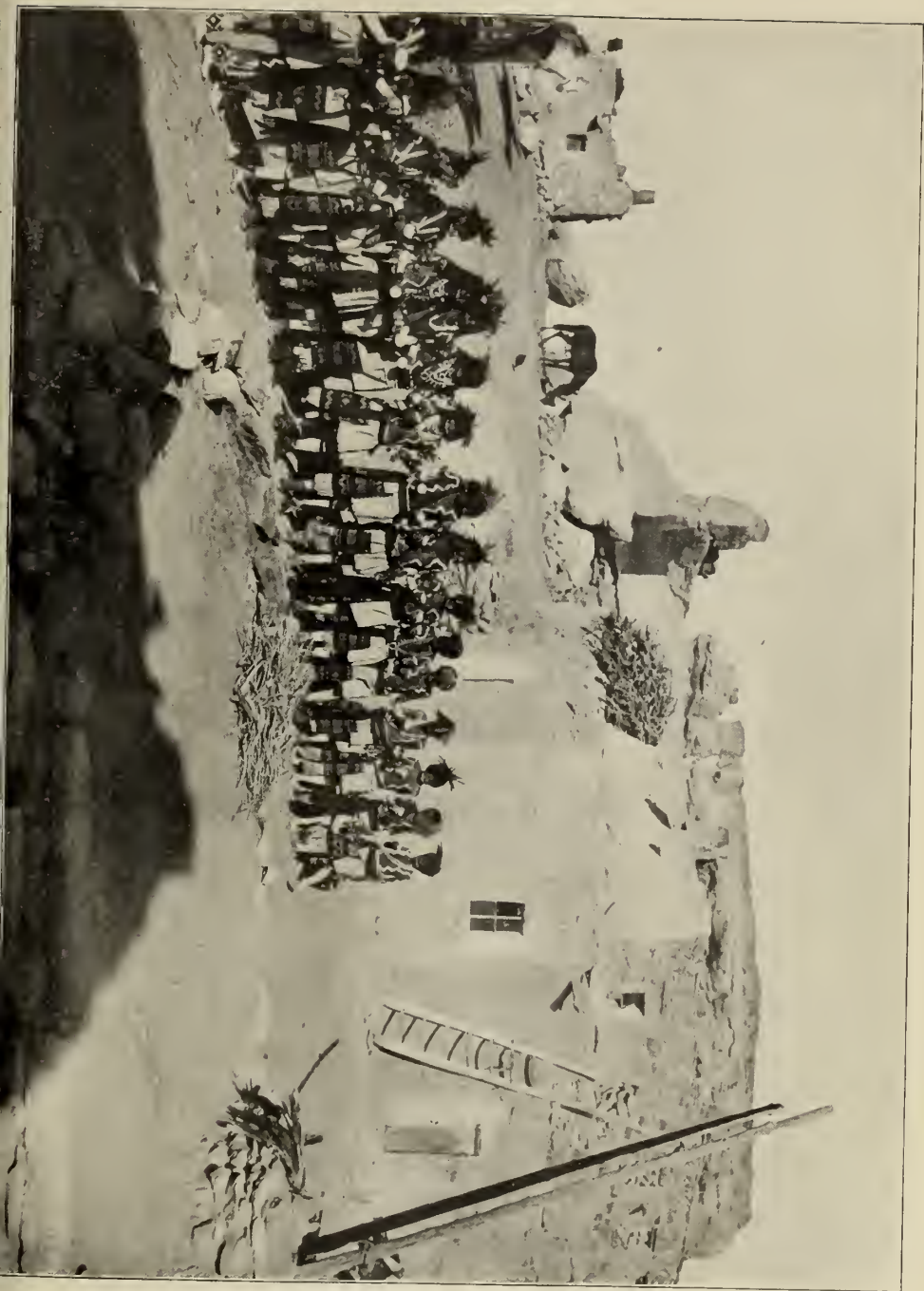
At half-past five the Antelope priests, Polihungwa in the lead, left the kiva. On the outside they formed in line facing the south (Pl. CXXXII), and stood shaking their rattles for a moment, when they started at a dignified pace for the central plaza, where, as yesterday, they passed along the east wall toward the north end, passing on the way the flat Bahoki, upon which they cast a pinch of meal. Then, having arrived at the north end of the plaza, they turned again along the western side, passing now the large shrine of Tiwoñapavi, upon which they also cast meal, and then, passing over the plank in front of the *kisi*, stamped vigorously with their right feet on the *sipapu* and cast on it a pinch of meal, and so on to the southern end of the plaza, where they turned east and then to the north. Thus they made the circuit four times, as on the previous day, each circuit being shorter than the preceding one. The final circuit being completed, they lined up in front of the *kisi*, Polihungwa at the southern end, as on the previous day, where they began rattling and awaited the arrival of the Snake priests (Pl. CXXXIII, *a* and *b*).

Each of the Snake priests having completed his preparations, took up his snake whip, meal bag and a *chochokpiata*, and with Lomanakshu in the lead they left the kiva. Lomanakshu, having gained the roof of the kiva, took down the Snake *aoñtnatsi* (see Pl. CXXXIV, *d*) and then took a position at the head of the line, which, when formed, faced north (see Pl. CXXXV). As they were about all out of the kiva, Hopöonga, a boy, went over to the Antelope kiva and took down the Antelope *aoñtnatsi*.^{*} They now stood for a moment and then started with quick, long strides toward the main plaza (see Pl. CXXXVI and Pl. CXXXIII, *c*), where they also made the four ceremonial circuits, dropping meal on the two shrines and stamping vigorously on the *sipapu*, when they lined up in front of the Antelopes with Lomanakshu at the north end of the line, the two chiefs thus being, as on the pre-

^{*}It will be remembered that on the previous day Lomanakshu's brother removed the Antelope *aoñtnatsi* and gave it to Hopöonga, who held it during the dance.

PL. CXXXII.

Antelope priests leaving kiva.



PL. CXXXIII. THE SNAKE DANCE.

- a.* Antelope priests making ceremonial circuit of plaza.
- b.* Antelope priests awaiting arrival of Snake priests.
- c.* Snake priests on way to plaza.
- d.* The beginning of the Snake dance.



THE SNAKE DANCE.

PL. CXXXV.

Line of Snake priests emerging from the kiva.

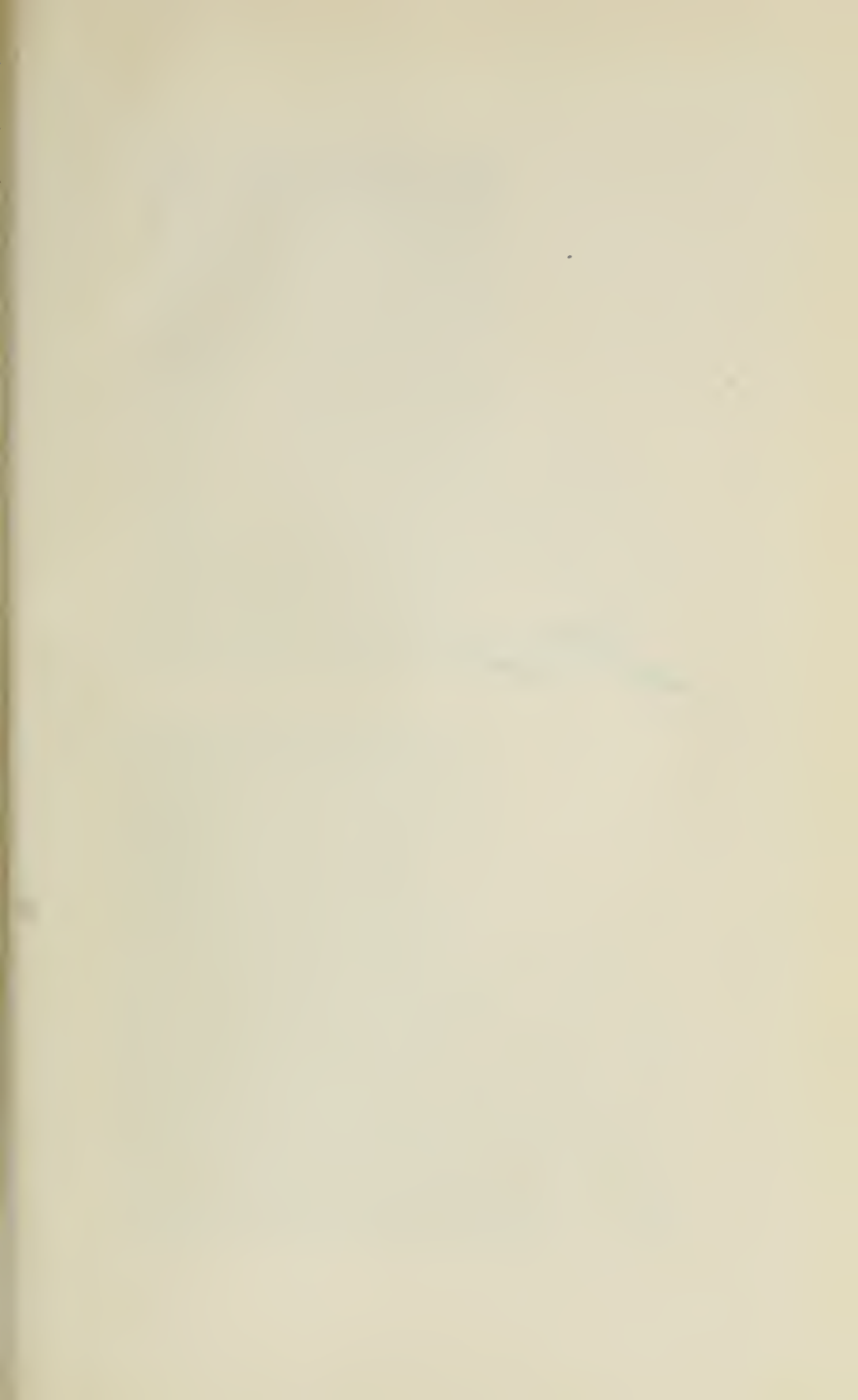


PL. CXXXVI. THE BEGINNING OF THE SNAKE DANCE.

The Antelope priests drawing up in front of the kisi; the Snake priests making the first ceremonial circuit of the plaza.



THE BEGINNING OF THE SNAKE DANCE.





THE SNAKE DANCE.

PL. CXXXVII. THE SNAKE DANCE.

- a.* Carrier and hugger in front.
- b.* Carrier, hugger and gatherer.



PL. CXXXVIII. THE SNAKE DANCE.

The dancers passing the shrine of Buhoki.



ceding day, at diagonally opposite ends of the lines. (Pl. CXXXIII, *d*). As soon as the two platoons had faced each other, all interlocked arms and bent slightly forward; they then hummed a song in a low tone, moving at the same time their bodies sideways which caused a slight rattling of the Antelope rattles. They then released each other's arms and performed for a few minutes a vigorous dance, forcibly stamping their right feet on the ground, singing loudly and accompanying the singing, the Antelope priests with the shaking of their rattles, the Snake priests by the shaking of their whips. In a few minutes they repeated the low humming song, then the dancing, etc., both performances being repeated about ten times. The Snake men then thrust their snake whips behind their belts and, while they again hummed a song, at the same time stepping forward and backward, the Antelope men rattling, some of the Snake men began to detach themselves in threes from the line, going to the *kisi* where a snake was handed to one of them by a Snake priest who did not participate in the ceremony, but was called from among the spectators on the house tops for this purpose.

The dancer having been handed a snake, placed it between his lips (*kahchanglawu*) and moved slowly forward being accompanied by another priest who had placed his arm around the dancer's neck (*mawokngwu*), occupying, as it were, with his snake whip, the attention of the snake, warding off the latter's head from the dancer's face as much as possible (see Pls. CXXXVII and CXXXVIII). As soon as these two had described the circuit in front of the *kisi* the snake was dropped and picked (*pungnimani*) up by the third man. The two again approached the *kisi*, received another reptile and went through the same performance. The gatherers held sometimes as many as four, five and even more snakes in their hands, and it has been observed that on several occasions a dancer would take more than one reptile at a time between his lips.

As soon as a snake is dropped the gatherer concerns himself with it, either picking it up at once or first letting it glide away a short distance. If the reptile be a rattlesnake and threatens to coil, the man touches it with the points of his snake whip, moving the latter rapidly. A rattlesnake, already coiled up and ready to fight, even the most experienced priest will not touch until he has induced it to uncoil. A pinch of meal is always thrown on the snake before it is picked up. It is astonishing, however, with what complete unconcern the dancers will move about among the snakes that are being constantly dropped, even if they are coiled up and apparently ready to strike at the foot or leg of the man who passes in close proximity

to them. None seem to be more reckless in handling the snakes than the smaller boys (see Pls. CXXXIX and CXL).

When all the snakes have been "handled," the chief priest goes to one side and sprinkles a circle of meal on the ground and in it a meal line from the north, west, south, east, northeast and southwest towards the center (see Pl. CCLI). The Snake men are standing at one side of the circle, a line of women and girls standing on the other side holding trays with cornmeal in their hands. This meal they throw on the meal circle, whereupon the Snake men rush to the circle, throw all the reptiles on it (see Pl. CXLII, *b*) and immediately thrust their hands into the wriggling, writhing mass of snakes, grabbing with both hands as many as they can get hold of; then they dash away with them to the four cardinal points, some going to the north, some to the west, and so on, where they release them at certain points, preferably behind rocks, called *Tcūki* (snake house), depositing with them the long black bahos (*chochopkis*), which they held in their hands with some cornmeal during the dance (see Pls. CXLIII and CXX, *d*). After the Snake men had left, the Antelope priests again made the four circuits on the plaza in the same manner as when they came and then returned to the kiva. The asperger who had held the medicine bowl and who had asperged the dancers occasionally during the dance, threw some cornmeal into one of the shrines on the plaza (Bahoki), then placed a baho and poured the water from the medicine bowl into the shrine, and finally threw in the wreath of cottonwood saplings that he had worn around his head.

One of the snake dancers who had evidently failed to get any snakes to take down the mesa made the usual four circuits on the plaza, which caused some hilarity among the spectators, and then also left for the Snake kiva.

In about fifteen or twenty minutes the Snake men began to return, divested of their snake costumes. (See Pl. CXX, *c*.) They began at once to wash off the paint from their bodies at some little distance from the kiva. While this was going on five elderly women brought six bowls of emetic to the kiva that had been boiled in the house of a woman of the Snake order in the afternoon (see Pl. CXLIV, *d*). After the men had washed their bodies they began to drink great quantities of the emetic (see Pl. CXLIV, *c*), which, after some assistance by the forefingers, caused profuse emesis. It is said that this is done to purge the participants in the ceremony from any snake charm that might be dangerous to the other inhabitants of the village (see Pls. CXLV and CXLVI).^{*} The costumes were taken into the kiva

^{*}In the course of the afternoon the old blind man asked one of the novitiates whether he knew how to produce vomiting, and if not, he should not drink too much of the emetic.

PL. CXXXIX. THE SNAKE DANCE.

- a.* A young Snake priest about to pick up a snake.
- b.* Priest using the snake whip preparatory to picking up a snake.



THE SNAKE DANCE.

PL. CXL. THE SNAKE DANCE.

- a.* Passing the *kisi* on the second round.
- b.* In the center a gatherer with his left hand full of snakes.



THE SNAKE DANCE.

PL. CXLI. THE SNAKE DANCE.

- a.* The Snake priests on the last round.
- b.* The circle of Snake priests after the formation of the cornmeal circle.



THE SNAKE DANCE.

PL. CXLII. AFTER THE SNAKES HAVE BEEN PITCHED INTO THE CORNMEAL CIRCLE.

- a.* Priests waving their whips over snakes preparatory to seizing them.
- b.* Antelope priests making the final circuit of the plaza after the departure of the Snake priests.



AFTER THE SNAKES HAVE BEEN PITCHED INTO THE CORNMEAL CIRCLE.

PL. CXLIII.

Deposit of black snake-bahos on the north side of the mesa.



PL. CXLIV. THE EMETIC.

- a.* In front of the Snake kiva maybe seen several jars of water and the four bowls of emetic.
- b.* The Snake priests drinking the emetic.



THE EMETIC.

PL. CXLV. THE EMETIC.

- a.* Priests drinking the emetic from the jars; in the rear priests may be seen stooping over the side of the kiva wall.
- b.* Priests vomiting from the roof of the kiva.



THE EMETIC.

PL. CXLVI. THE EMETIC.

Priests vomiting from the roof of the kiva.



before their owners washed off the paint. It was noticed that at this time the snake whips, snake sacks, lightning frames, bull roarers, snake jugs, etc., were still lying on the kiva floor.

While the men were still engaged in vomiting, the women began to bring food to the kiva, which was taken into the kiva by the men already through with the purification ceremony, and placed on the floor on the elevated portion of the kiva. As the Snake men had fasted all day the evening meal was looked forward to with a great deal of interest.

After the emetic had taken effect and all the priests had entered the kiva, they for the most part resumed the ceremonial circle about the hearth and engaged in fraternal smoking. Nakwayeshwa now brought in a girl baby and placed his lips to its head. He then sat down, whereupon Lomanakshu took a pinch of meal and sprinkled the snake whips. Then Lomanakshu went over to Nakwayeshwa, holding the child, and prayed a long prayer. He then spat some *hohoyaonga* which he had been chewing into his hands and rubbed them over the child's body. He did this four times. He then passed his mouth over all parts of the child's body with a loud smacking noise, and then expectorated in a vigorous manner into a jar.

Another child had in the meantime been brought in and Lomanakshu's brother went through a similar performance over it. In taking the meal for the passage over this child's body it was noticed that he first put watermelon seeds in his mouth, then dipped them in meal, and then placed them in his mouth. Still other children were brought in, until finally there were as many as ten. Other priests joined in this performance, all at the beginning passing their mouths over the children, beginning with the feet and working towards the head. All then arranged themselves in a circle about the hearth with Lomanakshu in the center, when they began to intone a low song. Nakwayeshwa then took up a snake whip and beginning on the west side of the ladder passed around toward the east, walking behind the priests and shaking over the head of each one the snake whip, describing as he did so a circle. As this performance is taking place behind him each individual takes a piece of black charcoal of sheep's dung, which has in the meantime been passed around the circle, moistens it by holding it in front of his mouth and with a motion of the lips and tongue placing saliva on it. Then with it in his right hand he describes an irregular motion in front of his face and casts it up the kiva hatchway. As Nakwayeshwa reached the eastern side of the circle he rubbed his hands on the ladder. He then retraced his steps to the west, thus describing

the circle four times. He then went back and forth once more, this time touching each member on the head with his snake whip. The priests now ate heartily of the feast which had been brought into the kiva at the conclusion of the meal. The snake *natsi* was brought into the kiva at about seven o'clock.

The Antelope men, after having returned to the kiva from the plaza, at once began to disrobe, wash the paint from their bodies, roll up their costumes, returning parts of the costume that had been borrowed, and then smoked, chatted and last but not least, partook of a hearty supper which had been provided for them by their families and relatives.

THE FOUR DAYS AFTER THE CEREMONY: NYÖLIWA (WRANGLING).

The performances on the four days succeeding the nine ceremonial days are called *nyöliwa* (wrangling).

The four days are not ceremonial days, strictly speaking, but rather days of pleasure, frolic and fun, especially for the young people of the village. These four days have not been especially observed on the occasions of this Snake ceremony, but they are, so far as has been observed, essentially the same in all cases where they take place in connection with a ceremony.

The festivities following ceremonies that occur in the summer and fall, when the crops are still unharvested, are, at least partly transferred to the fields.

On the first day the performances usually take place near and in the village. The young people and children congregate in various places. The young men and boys hold out presents, which the women and girls try to take away from them, chasing the holders of the presents around the village, through the streets, over the house-tops, etc., and wrangling with them when they get hold of them. The presents consist of corn, melons and other objects of food, pieces of calico, baskets, small coins, silver buttons, etc. In order to make it more difficult for the pursuers to capture them, the men often divest themselves of their shirts, and even of all their garments, with the exception of the breech-cloth. When this is not done, their clothes are often torn to shreds. These wranglings take place principally in the morning and in the evening, but are carried on with more or less vigor throughout the day. (See Pl. CXLVII.)

During the Snake ceremony, while the corn is in the fields and the water and musk-melons have begun to mature, the scene of action is soon transferred to the fields, where the wranglings alternate with

PL. CXLVII.

The jollification ceremony following the ninth day.



THE JOLLIFICATION CEREMONY FOLLOWING THE NINTH DAY.

feasts, in which melons and young roasting ears form the principal objects of food. Usually, some of the older people of the village are present to preserve propriety.

Both Snake and Antelope priests are expected to practice strict continence during these four days and to sleep in their kivas, where they indulge in fraternal smoking around the fireplace. Otherwise, they follow their usual pursuits of life. As far as known, no ceremonies are performed by the participants on these days, unless it be the sprinkling of a pinch of sacred meal to the rising sun at early dawn.

THE SNAKE LEGEND.

A long time ago there lived some people at Tokóonangwa who were then not yet Snake people. The place where they lived was situated near the bank of the Grand Cañon, and the chief's son often sat at the bank and wondered where all that water was flowing to. "That must certainly fill it up very much somewhere," he thought. After pondering over this awhile, he asked his father, who was a chief, about it. "So that is what you have been thinking about," the latter said. "Yes, and I want to go and find out where all that water flows," the son replied. The father was willing that his son should go and told him to prepare a box (boat) and arrange it so that all the opening could be closed if necessary. This the young man did, preparing also a long stick with which he could push the box from the shore and get it afloat if it ran ashore or aground. The chief prepared for his son numerous bahos which he should take with him, and after having prepared some lunch and placed everything into the box, the young man also entered. The openings were closed up, yet so that he could open them and look out, and then the box was pushed into the stream and left to float down with the current.

After awhile his boat ran against land; he opened one of the holes and looked out and found that he had run against an island, but that there was water everywhere. He saw it was the *bahtowakachi* (ocean). He opened his box and went ashore, and found the kihu (house) of *Kohkangwuhti* (Spider Woman). This house was a hole in the ground. She hailed him and invited him to enter. He

said he could not as the hole was so small. She told him to put his foot in and enlarge it. This he did, and then entered and told his story, saying that he had come to see where all that water flowed and to see whether he could not find something that would benefit his people. Especially was he also hunting some beads, shells, etc. He then handed her a baho, which made her very happy. She then said that she would go with him, as those objects were jealously guarded by ferocious animals. "If you had not found me," she said, "how could you have found and gotten them and how could you have gotten back?" So she gave him some medicine, and taking a seat behind his ear, they started. He took some of the medicine into his mouth, chewed it, spat it on and over the water and at once a bridge of a rainbow was spanned across it, over which he crossed the water. They saw at a distance a kiva, to which they wanted to go. Soon they came upon a *toho* (panther), who growled fearfully. The youth spat some of the medicine on him, and gave him one of the bahos, whereupon he let them pass. Soon they encountered a *honawuu* (bear), who grunted and would not let them pass until he had been treated the same way as the panther. The next was a *tokotci* (wild cat), then a *kwawuu* (gray wolf), and finally a *kahtoya* (a species of very large rattlesnake). All were treated in the same manner. They then entered the Snake kiva, on the outside of which hung on the ladder an *aoátnatsi* (bow standard). In the kiva were assembled many people, who wore no clothes but a *sakavikuna* (blue kilt) and beads, their faces being painted with *yalahaii* (specular iron). The young man sat down; all looked at him but none spoke. Presently the chief got a large pipe and a bag with tobacco, from which he filled the pipe. After having smoked four puffs he handed the pipe to the youth and said: "Now smoke, but swallow the smoke.*" When the youth commenced smoking Spider Woman whispered into his ear to place her behind him. So when he swallowed the smoke she drew it from him (behind) and he did not become *pivcuri* (tobacco dizzy). The men were pleased and said: "Good! thanks! you are strong, you are someone, your heart is good, you are one of us, you are our child." "Yes," he said, and then gave them some red nakwakwosis and single green bahos with red points, over which they were very happy.

On the walls hung many shirts of snake skins, and the chief then said to the men to dress up, forbidding the young man, however, to

*This was a test about which Spider Woman had told the youth beforehand. Anyone that was unable to swallow the smoke was driven away.

look on. So he turned away and when he again looked the men had dressed up but had become rattlesnakes, bull snakes, racers, etc., of all sizes, that rattled, hissed and glided about. While he had turned away Spider Woman had whispered to him that they were now going to try him again and that he should not be afraid to take hold of a snake, etc.

On the banquettes of the kiva had also been sitting some *loma manas* (pretty maidens), one being a particularly pretty one. These had also put on snake shirts and had been turned into snakes. The old chief had not dressed up nor turned into a snake, and he now said to the youth to go and take one of the snakes. The latter were very angry and the youth got frightened when they stared at him. Spider Woman encouraged him, saying: "Do not be afraid now." The before-mentioned pretty maiden had turned into a large *sikatcua* (yellow rattlesnake) and was especially angry. Spider Woman pointed her out to the youth and he tried to capture her, but she was very angry. Spider Woman again encouraged him and gave him some medicine. This he secretly chewed and then spat a little of it on the snake, whereupon it at once became docile. He grabbed it, stroked it four times upward, each time spitting some medicine on it, and thus subdued its anger. The chief was astonished and said to him: "You are certainly very some one (a man); thanks! Now look away again." He did so, and when he again turned all had assumed their natural shapes. All were very friendly and talked freely. They now considered the youth initiated and to be one of them. The chief invited him to eat. The mana whom he had captured as a snake brought from another kiva room some piki (made of young corn), melons, peaches, etc., and fed the youth. Spider Woman whispered to the latter to give her something to eat, too, which he did.

The chief now asked the young man why he had come, what his errand was, etc. "I am hunting *lulomah kalcit* (a good, happy life)," he said; "I was thinking about the water, running this way, where it went, etc., and behold, it runs here to this place. I have also come to get some Hopi food from here and some beads and shells which, we understand, *Hurrungwuhti* (Bead Woman) has, who is said to live this way." Hereupon the chief asked him what he had for *Hurrungwuhti*. He said, "Some bahos." "All right," the chief said, "you will get them, but you must now sleep here." But Spider Woman wanted to get back, and so he said to the chief that he had to go out to attend to a call of nature and left the kiva and took Spider Woman home again, spanning the rainbow bridge as before. She in-

vited him to eat with her of a *pöwölpiki* (a round ball made of cornmeal and water), by which she lived and which never gave out. But he left her and returned to the snake kiva where he was welcomed and called *möönangwu* (brother-in-law, son-in-law), although he had not yet married but only caught the mana. So he staid there over night, the chief telling him all about the snake cult (altar, ceremony, object, etc.), and instructed him that he must put up such an altar and perform the ceremony in his home. They did not sleep at all that night.

In the morning he again left the kiva on the same excuse as the previous evening and went over to Spider Woman, telling her about the beads, shells, etc. She agreed to go with him to *Hurrungwuhti*. They spanned a rainbow road as before to a high bluff where the *Hurrungwuhti* lived, and to which they ascended on a ladder. Coming into the house they found an old, ugly, decrepid hag, and on the walls many beads, shells, turquoises, corals, etc. The old hag said nothing until the youth gave her some bahos, when she said faintly, "Thank you!" At sundown she went into another room and soon returned as a very pretty maiden, bringing with her some fine buffalo and wildcat robes, of which she made a bed. She gave the youth some supper and then invited him to sleep with her. Spider Woman whispered to him from behind his ear to obey her, as he would probably thus win her and get the beads.

When he awoke in the morning he found by his side an old hag snoring. He was very unhappy but staid there all day, the old hag again sitting bent up and quiet as on the previous day. In the evening the events of the evening before were repeated, but this night the maiden was not changed back into the old hag again. He remained there four days and four nights, after which he expressed a desire to return home. So she went into a room north and got a few turquoise beads (*choshposhi*)* and gave them to him; then she went into a room on the west side and got a few more turquoise beads; from a room south she got him a few beads of a pinkish substance (*catsni*), and from a room on the east side some white beads (*hurrungwa*) made of a white shell and gave them to him. She also gave him various shells and strings for the beads. She told him to go home now, but charged him not to open the sack on the way. If he would obey this injunction the beads would increase in the sack; if he would not, they would disappear. She then instructed him to return to the snake kiva where

*This is the only instance where I have heard turquoise mentioned in connection with the north. In all cases where in ceremonies or song hard substances are mentioned in connection with the cardinal points, a slightly yellowish stone (*nayawuna*) is mentioned for the north.

he would be given clothes and victuals for the journey, etc. In the snake kiva he now staid four days and nights, sleeping with the mana that he had captured when she was a snake, and who was now considered to be his wife. When he was ready to start the chief said: "You have won us; take this woman with you and something to eat and all other things.* When you get home you must perform the snake ceremonies that I have told you about. Your wife will bear you children and you will be many, and they will then perform this ceremony for you."

So they started. At Spider Woman's house the man told his young wife to wait for him and he went in. Spider Woman asked him whether he got the mana. He said "Yes," and she charged him to take her and all that he had been given with him, but he should not have intercourse with his wife on the way, as then the beads would disappear and his wife would leave him. They left now for the youth's home. The bag with the beads was not heavy, but in the morning they found that the beads in it had increased. During the following night they increased again and in the morning the man was very anxious to see them, but did not dare to open the sack for fear the threat of Spider Woman might become true. During the third night another increase was noticed and the sack became now quite heavy. The man became very anxious to open the sack but his wife would not allow it. On the morning of the fourth day the sack was nearly full and very heavy. The beads were stringing themselves on the strings in the sack.

They were now not far from home. The woman was pregnant, her period of gestation being short as that of snakes. The man began to forget the parting counsel of Spider Woman and to ask the woman to let him sleep with her, which she refused. So they traveled on, and when they had only one more day's journey to the youth's home, he could restrain his curiosity no longer. He insisted on opening the sack, but the woman insisted that he should not do so, as the contents would disappear if he did so. During the night, however, he opened the sack, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the woman. "We are now almost home," he said, "and it will be all right now." He took out some of the finest beads and shells, spread them out, hung them around his neck and was very happy. They went asleep, both being happy, but the woman still refusing to comply with the requests of her husband, saying, however, that if he cared no longer anything about her she would yield. So he

*My informant says that this refers to snake costumes, altar paraphernalia, etc.

respected her wishes. When they awoke in the morning all the beads and shells had disappeared that had been added on the way. Only what Bead Woman had originally given to the man was left.* They were very unhappy and got home poor.

Heretofore only the *Batkiñyamu* (water-house clan) and *Pönakñyamu Pöna* (some large plant) clan had lived at that place, but with this woman and her descendants the Snake clan had now come there. The woman soon bore many little snakes, who lived in the fields and in the sand and grew very rapidly. They sometimes bit the Hopi children, which made the Hopi very angry. They said such was not good and finally drove the snake family away, over which the latter was very unhappy. The woman said to her husband he should take their children back to their home and then they (the parents) would go away alone. The man's father—the old chief—made some bahos and these the man wrapped up in a blanket with the snakes and took them to his wife's home, telling his wife's people why he had brought these (snake) children.† The Snake people said it was all right.

The man having returned, he and his wife emigrated, going in a southeasterly direction and stopping at different places. Finally they saw smoke and a village in the distance. They came near it and found it to be Walpi. Stopping at the foot of the mesa they sent up word requesting to be admitted to the village. The chief of the village came down to them and at first refused to admit them, saying they were perhaps *nukpana* (dangerous). But when they gave assurances that they were good and promised to assist the villagers in making ceremonies for rain the chief took them up to the village and they lived there. The woman after that bore human children which are now the Snake clan in Walpi, and of whom there are only a few left.

The *Batki* and *Pönak* clans later also followed the Snake people to Walpi.

In Walpi the Snake people erected the first Snake altar, made the tiponi, etc., and had the first Snake ceremony.‡ From here the Snake cult spread to the other villages.§ At the first Snake ceremony the Snake chief sent his nephew to hunt snakes; the first day

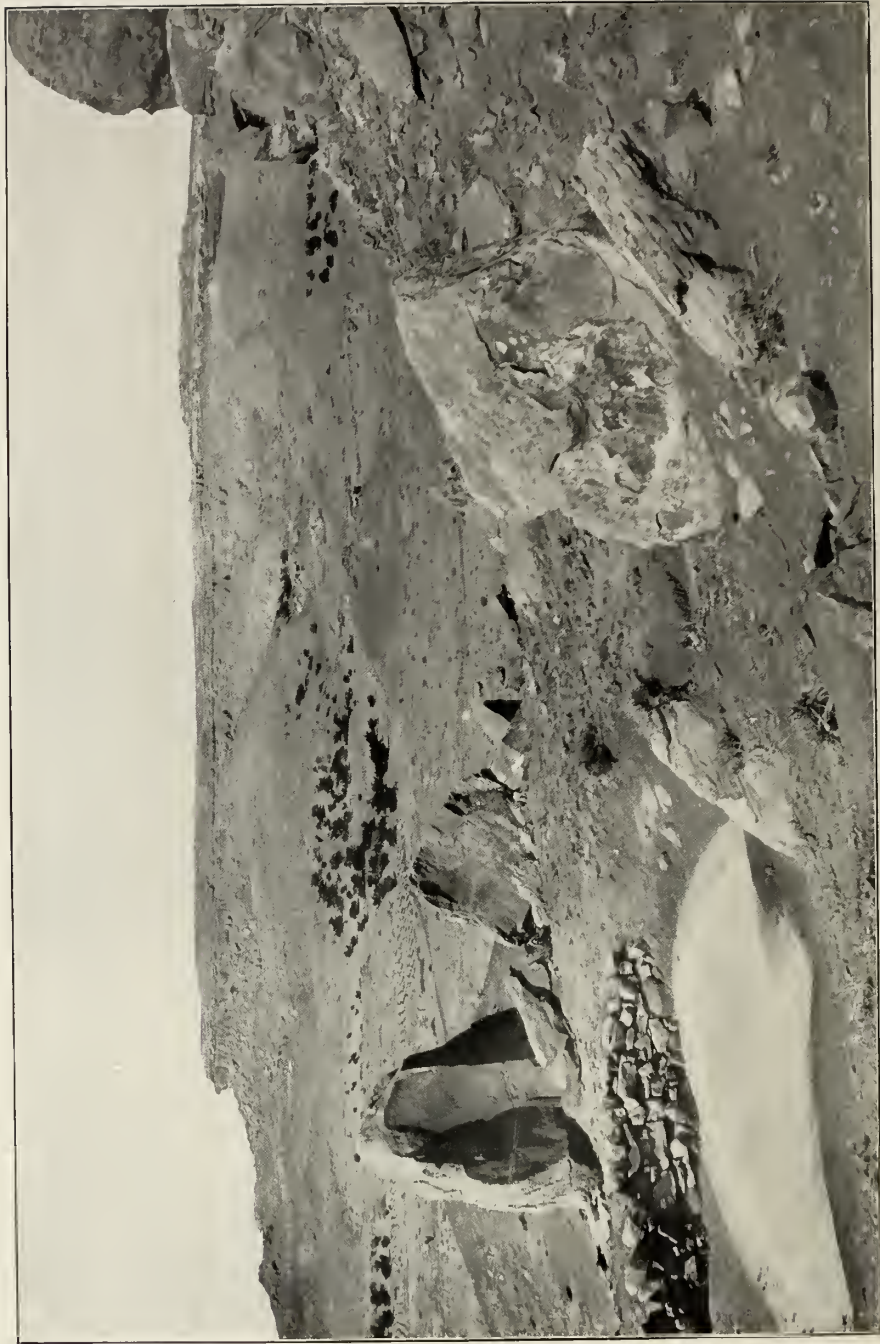
*The narrator added that hence the Hopi have now so few beads and shells. Had the man brought all home that time they would now have many.

†My informant says this is the reason why the Snake dancers take bahos with them when they take away the snakes after the Snake dance and deposit the bahos with the snakes so that the latter do not return.

‡The informant did not say whether the Snake people ever used the paraphernalia brought by the Snake youth at Tokoonangwa, but the impression received was that they did not.

§On this point informants differ, some saying that the Snake cult was also introduced from other sources and that, for instance, Oraibi had it before it came to Walpi.

he sent him to the north, the second day to the west, the third day to the south, and the fourth day to the east. He brought one snake from each direction. The Snake priest then hollowed out a piece of *bako* ("water wood," *i, e*, cottonwood root). Into this he placed one of the snakes and the rattles of the remaining three snakes, closing up the hole with a corn ear. Around this he tied small and large eagle feathers and the feathers of the six direction birds: *towamana* (oriole) for the north, *choro* (blue bird) for the west, *karro* (parrot) south, *posiwuu* (magpie) east, *asya* (unidentified) above and *topockwa* (unidentified) below. He then wrapped all this with a buckskin thong which made it very strong. After this the ceremony was celebrated.



PL. CXLVIII. (FRONTISPIECE). THE THIRD MESA WITH ORÁIBI.

The view is taken from the east; the distance is about one mile. In the foreground may be seen to the right the beginning of a mesa, to the left and in the centre peach orchards and bean patches. In the background is the mesa, which is about four hundred feet high, and on the top of which, somewhat to the right, is perched the ancient village of Oráibi, the largest of the seven Hópi villages, with a population of about eight hundred people. In the centre of the picture may be seen, meandering through sand hills, orchards, fields, and up the mesa, the principal trail to the village, which, for generations, has been used by the water-carrier to springs, by the priest to distant shrines, by the tiller of the soil to his little fields in the valley, and by the visitor to the neighboring villages of Tusayan, and to the distantly located ones of the befriended Pueblo and Zuni Indians.

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